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MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY

Government
Publication

IN THE MATTER OF APPLICATIONS BY EACH OF

(a) CANADIAN ARCTIC GAS PIPELINE LIMITED FOR A
RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS
CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY AND
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, and

(b) FOOTHILLS PIPE LINES LTD. FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY
THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS
WITHIN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

FOR THE PURPOSE OF A PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE

and

IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND
ECONOMIC IMPACT REGIONALLY OF THE CONSTRUCTION,
OPERATION AND SUBSEQUENT ABANDONMENT OF THE ABOVE
PROPOSED PIPELINE

(Before the Honourable Mr. Justice Berger, Commissioner)

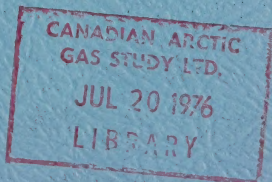
Yellowknife, N.W.T.

July 8, 1976.

PROCEEDINGS AT INQUIRY

Volume 160

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M835
Vol. 160



APPEARANCES:

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Mr. Ian Roland for Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry;

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Mr. J.T. Steeves for Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Limited.

Mr. Reginald Gibbs, Q.C.,
Mr. Alan Hollingworth and
Mr. John W. Lutes for Foothills Pipe Lines Ltd.;

Mr. Russell Anthony,
Prof. Alastair Lucas and
Mr. Garth Evans for Canadian Arctic Resources Committee;

Mr. Glen W. Bell and
Mr. Gerry Sutton for Northwest Territories Indian Brotherhood, and Metis Association of the Northwest Territories;

Mr. John Bayly and
Miss Leslie Lane for Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, and The Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement;

Mr. Ron Veale and
Mr. Allen Lueck for The Council for the Yukon Indians;

Mr. Carson Templeton for Environment Protection Board;

Mr. David H. Searle, Q.C. for Northwest Territories Chamber of Commerce

Mr. Murray Sigler for The Association of Municipalities;

Mr. John Ballem, Q.C. for Producer Companies;

Mrs. Joanne MacQuarrie, for Mental Health Association of the Northwest Territories.

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(STATEMENT OF M. ASCH RE HOBART'S TESTIMONY)

MARKED EXHIBIT 652

MICHAEL I. ASCH

SCOTT RUSHFORTH

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. BELL

to begin.

since my direct evidence, I flip it through some additional material that was used by certain groups and other industries - and I'm going to prepare their reports. Now, that's the situation. I think I would like to -- I'm not sure what has happened in the last couple of years but I don't know exactly where we're at.

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In Chief

Yellowknife, N.W.T.

July 8, 1976.

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. SCOTT: Mr. Bell, is this panel available for cross-examination?

MR. BELL: Yes, Mr. Commissioner. WE have Mr. Asch and Mr. Rushforth back by popular request. Before the cross-examination begins, Mr. Asch has a few remarks he wishes to make. The documents that I left with you are an addendum to Dr. Asch's submission, which was distributed several weeks ago, as well as a copy of Dr. Asch's notes for a statement in response to Dr. Hobart's testimony.

(ADDENDUM TO SUBMISSION OF M. ASCH, MAY 1976
MARKED EXHIBIT 651)

(STATEMENT OF M. ASCH RE HOBART'S TESTIMONY
MARKED EXHIBIT 652)

MICHAEL I. ASCH,

SCOTT RUSHFORTH, resumed:

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. BELL (CONTINUED):

Q I'll just ask Dr. Asch to begin.

WITNESS ASCH: In the interim since my direct evidence, I did go through some additional material that was used by Gemini North and other industry-sponsored studies in preparing their reports. Now, that's the addendum. I think I would like to -- I'm not sure what has happened in the last couple of days so I don't know exactly where we're at.

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In Chief

1 But I would like to read just if I may, and submit
2 the whole document ,b ut just read the first two
3 pages of this document and then submit the whole
4 thing, as I don't think the matter is as controversial
5 as it appeared to have been at the time.

6 Mr. Commissioner, I have been
7 examining sources used by Gemini North --

8 MR. STEEVES: Which addendum
9 are we dealing with?

10 A The addendum, there's
11 only one addendum. Do you want me to -- I'll comment
12 on this too. Mr. Steeves, if you wish me to comment
13 on this at this time --

14 MR. STEEVES: Yes.

15 A -- I am not intending
16 to read the second thing into the record. I understand
17 that it is possible for a person to submit responses
18 to testimony of other individuals. I do not intend
19 to read the second thing into the record.

20 THE COMMISSIONER: Well --

21 MR. STEEVES: All right,
22 I'm O.K. now.

23 THE COMMISSIONER: O.K.

24 Look, you do whatever you want to do and we're just
25 kind of getting under way here.

26 A Yes. I want to -- I
27 don't want to waste the time of the Commission on
28 issues that appear not to be controversial any more.
29 That's my only concern here. However, I'm not exactly
3 sure what are and what are not controversial at this

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In Chief

1 point.

2 MR. SCOTT: Just so we'll
3 understand what's happening, Mr. Bell has provided to
4 us two documents. One is entitled:

5 "An Addendum to the submission of Michael
6 Asch, May 1976."

7 MR. BELL: Which was distributed
8 four weeks ago to all parties.

9 MR. SCOTT: All right, and I
10 take it that Mr. Asch was just about to begin reading
11 that. Then he submitted to us a second document,
12 "Statement in Response to Dr. C. Hobart's
13 Testimony, July 1976."

14 Do I understand that both of them are going to be
15 made exhibits?

16 A Yes.

17 MR. SCOTT: Are both of them
18 going to be read, Mr. Bell?

19 MR. BELL: Ask Dr. Asch.

20 MR. SCOTT: Well, you're his
21 counsel.

22 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, could
23 I intervene? I think that it's fair to say that I
24 asked Mr. Bell to make sure that Dr. Asch read Dr.
25 Hobart's testimony and that he was prepared to comment
26 on it when he came here to be cross-examined today,
27 so you feel free to read both documents and if -- not
28 these tables, but the documents --

29 A O.K.

30 Q -- we've got all day,

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In Chief

1 apparently, and not a great deal to do besides listen
2 to Mr. Rushforth and you. So let's just take our time.

3 A O.K. I have been
4 examining sources used by Gemini North and other
5 industry sponsored studies in preparation for my
6 cross-examination. While doing this, I have uncovered
7 specific information which adds substance to two of
8 the fundamental assertions I made in my presentation
9 to you in April and would therefore like to add this
10 addendum to my brief.

11 The two assertions I wish to
12 substantiate with these data are:

- 13 1. That the bush economy is not dying, and that in
14 fact country foods remain a significant subsistence
15 source in all of the communities in the Fort Simpson
16 and Fort Wrigley regions; and
17 2. That the use of country foods is virtually as high
18 in Fort Simpson, the largest centre in the region, as
19 it is in Fort Wrigley, the smallest.

20 The new information is
21 detailed in the seven tables which accompany this
22 addendum. These tables reproduce government information
23 concerning Dene population size and the amount of
24 country food taken in each of the eight following
25 communities: Fort Liard, Fort Simpson, Fort Wrigley,
26 Fort Franklin, Fort Norman, Norman Wells, Fort Good
27 Hope, and Colville Lake in 1968. The country food
28 figures exclude rabbit and fish, two primary sources
29 of nutrition for these communities, for reasons
30 outlined below.

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Briefly, these data substantiate my assertions in the following respects. Concerning the first point, the tables indicate that in 1968 the average per capita country food production (excluding rabbit and fish) for native people in the region was 186.6 pounds. As Table 7 shows, this compares with an average per capita consumption of meat, fish and poultry of 201.5 pounds for Canada as a whole in that same year. Hence, these data suggest that the bush collection sector of the economy of the native people of the region generated enough food to ensure that their level of animal protein consumption would be, at minimum, virtually identical to that of the average Canadian.

In other words, these statistics represent a strong challenge to the contention that the bush collection sector of the native economy is of limited economic value, and conversely, support the assertion of myself and others that, at least as recently as eight years ago, and indeed only three years prior to the statistics upon which Gemini North Limited base their conclusions, the country food production sector of the economy of native people living in the region was of major significance in fulfilling their subsistence needs.

Concerning the second point, the industry sponsored studies have suggested that while the bush sector is still of some economic value in the smaller centres, it is indeed dying in the larger ones. However, these government statistics

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1 indicate that as recently as eight years ago the
2 per capita poundage of country food (excluding rabbit
3 and fish) harvested at Fort Simpson, the largest centre
4 in the region, was 165 pounds, while that of Fort
5 Wrigley, the smallest centre, was 180 pounds. A
6 difference of 15 pounds per capita. I submit to you
7 that it is unreasonable to suggest that such a minor
8 fluctuation in per capita production warrants the
9 conclusion that the role of bush subsistence in the
10 economies of the native peoples of the two communities
11 is qualitatively different. Furthermore, I would
12 submit that the high level of per capita bush resource
13 harvesting in these communities argues against the
14 position that either community is in transition away
15 from bush subsistence, and rather supports the contention
16 that as recently as eight years ago both communities
17 still maintained a traditional level of reliance on
18 the bush to provide for subsistence.

19 Before closing, I would like to
20 say a few words concerning my assessment and use of
21 these data. The population figures are taken from
22 government area studies undertaken in 1966 in the
23 case of the more northerly communities, and 1968 in
24 the case of the more southerly ones. I have used these
25 statistics because they represent the most recent
26 population figures I am aware of, which report the
27 demographic distribution in such a way that the total
28 Dene population (that is Indians and Metis) can be
29 accurately ascertained. To my knowledge, the more
30 recent population statistics list Metis as part of the

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1 ' totals for "others". Hence it is impossible to
2 obtain an accurate account of their numbers. I should
3 also mention that the reason I do not quote government
4 figures for the population of Fort Wrigley is simply
5 that no economic study was ever done for that community
6 and therefore no comparable government statistics
7 are available. Therefore, I had to use my own
8 estimates.

9 Regarding the country food
10 estimates, I am convinced that the government statistics
11 represent a minimum of minimums. My reasons for this
12 assertion are as follows:

13 1. The figures do not include rabbit and fish, both
14 of which are known to be major sources of nutrition.

15 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
16 Dr. Asch. Did it not include fish?

17 A No. They do include
18 fish, it's true, but I have a foot-note on that at the
19 end of this. The figures that I use don't include
20 fish and I have a foot-note as to why I don't use it.

21 The reason the former is not
22 included is simply that the figures were not reported.
23 In the case of fish, the government figures were omitted
24 because I must confess there were a number of reasons
25 listed in the footnote below I have no confidence in
26 their accuracy. I won't read the footnote, I don't think.

27 2. The edible weights for virtually all species
28 reported were computed at approximately 50% of the
29 live weight of an average sized animal. (In the case
30 of moose, I should add this drops to approximately 35%,

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1 while for beaver it is over 70%). This 50% figure I
2 am told, is a standard used to estimate the probable
3 quantity of edible meat obtained from game animals
4 when butchered in a Southern Canadian style, and using
5 only those cuts we would eat. Thus, it does not take
6 into account the much higher use of muscle, as well
7 as of organs and fat contents by native people. This,
8 many estimate, would bring the edible weight up to a
9 minimum of perhaps 2/3 of the live weight of the animal.

10 3. The 50% figure is low as well, in that it does not
11 take into account those visceral contents that would
12 be used as dog food. This, I am told, probably
13 represents about 7.5% of the total weight of the animal.

14 4. Finally, the information must be considered a
15 minimum estimate in that the method of reporting does
16 not ensure that all animals taken will be included in
17 the statistics. This is probably especially true in
18 the case of small game and all animals taken and con-
19 sumed in the bush. Some degree of the variance between
20 the government figures and the actual production can be
21 ascertained from a comparison between government
22 reports and the data collected by Scott Rushforth.

23 Finally, I should mention that
24 I am well aware that my comparison of 1968 reports of
25 country foods with 1966 reports of population figures
26 (as occurs for the more northerly communities) is some-
27 what irregular. However, I used this procedure because
28 I wanted to have a picture of country food use for a
29 single recent year and felt that the rise in population
30 over this two-year period would be minimal, especially if

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1 one were primarily concerned with the major consumers
2 of country foods. Nonetheless, I concede that the
3 population figures for Fort Franklin, Fort Norman,
4 Norman Wells, Fort Good Hope and Colville Lake are
5 slightly under their 1968 levels, and that this could
6 have some minor downward effect on the figures I quote
7 regarding the poundage of country foods available per
8 capital in these communities.

9 What follows is the footnote
10 and the tables.

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1 You think -- I will now read
2 into the record my statement. Is that -- my statement
3 for --

4 THE COMMISSIONER: Certainly.

5 A O.K. In the course of
6 his "Socio-Economic Overview of the Mackenzie River
7 Corridor", which was prepared for the industry, Dr.
8 Hobart makes certain assertions about my testimony
9 and certain features of Dene culture history. I would
10 like to respond to these briefly at this time.

11 Concerning my assertions,
12 Hobart makes certain criticisms of both my analysis of
13 wage labor and the importance of bush resources.

~~14~~ Concerning the former, Hobart
15 on page 30 of his testimony makes two assertions about
16 my testimony. The first is that he suggests that I
17 argue:

18 "...essentially that wage employment was unnecessary
19 and pernicious."

20 I must respond that nowhere in my testimony do I use
21 these words in association with wage employment per se,
22 and indeed, I do not find how this assertion is supported
23 in my actual testimony in general. Rather, my intention
24 and indeed, the sense of my tesitmony is to provide a
25 balanced view of wage employment in an attempt to
26 counteract the uncritical and enthusiastic way in which
27 the industry sponsored studies have viewed wage labor.

28 My point is to demonstrate that
29 there are a number of negative factors associated with
30 wage

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1 employment and especially large scale wage employment
2 schemes such as a pipeline. I make this point in
3 several places but perhaps it is made most succinctly
4 on page 37 where I say:

5 "Employment itself may not be the unmitigated
6 blessing that the other studies seem to feel it is."
7 Later in the same paragraph

8 "...employment, especially on the large scale en-
9 visaged by the industry sponsored studies may well,
10 in fact create at least as many problems as it
11 solves."

12 Some of these problems such as housing, I allude to
13 elsewhere in my testimony. There is nothing in Dr.
14 Hobart's testimony which leads me to re-assess my
15 evaluation. In fact, I am still as concerned as before
16 that the industry fails to even recognize the potential
17 negative effect of this large scale employment, much
18 less present this Commission with specific proposals
19 on how to alleviate them.

20 The second assertion made by
21 Dr. Hobart on page 30 of his testimony concerns Dene
22 "preferences" regarding wage employment. He begins his
23 critique by alleging that I suggest that:

24 "More traditional sources of income were more
25 frequently preferred by native people and were
26 preferrable to wage labor".

27 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse
28 me, do you have a copy of this Dr. Hobart?

29 DR. HOBART: I'm not reading
30 this now because I read it a few moments ago.

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In Chief

1 MR. STEEVES: We're going to
2 give him a copy of ours.

3 A Well, just as long as
4 I don't have to come back here again, I'll be happy.

5 The second assertion -- I've
6 read that part. He then goes on to suggest that this
7 position is in contrast to the conclusions of other
8 serious researchers in the north, for he states:

9 "In terms of my reading and re-reading of this
10 literature, almost every researcher who has serious-
11 ly studied the situation of native people in the
12 north during this period has described the Dene's
13 increasing disinterest in trapping and their in-
14 creasing ..."

15 I guess I must have mis-done that slightly.

16 "...preference for wage employment".

17 He then attempts to bolster this assertion with selected
18 quotes by a number of social scientists including
19 Van Stone, Helm, Welsch, Hurlbert and Cohen.

20 Now, while the contrast between
21 my alleged assertions and the position of other social
22 scientists may appear from Hobart's testimony to be
23 real, in fact if you review my testimony and carefully
24 compare my assertions with those cited by Hobart to
25 support his contention, you will find that this is
26 not the case. Rather, as I will indicate below, you will
27 find that the statements of virtually all the other
28 social scientists are in complete agreement with my
29 assertions.

30 To begin with, Hobart again

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1 mis-states my position. Nowhere in my testimony do I
2 state that the people of Fort Wrigley (or any other
3 Dene) "prefer" trapping to wage employment as a means
4 of obtained cash. Nor in fact do I argue the converse.
5 Rather, the point I make repeatedly is that the choices
6 the Dene make regarding the means by which they obtain
7 cash income are not made in a vacuum, but must rather
8 be seen in the context of general social and economic
9 conditions. Thus, for example, on page 31 I state:

10 "I strongly object to Gemini North (and others)
11 contention that the reasons for the decline of
12 full-time hunter-trappers are purely voluntary in
13 nature...There have been and still are important
14 coercive elements involved here."

15 I then go on to list some of them such as the collapse
16 of the fur trade, the location of schools in places
17 far removed from bush collection centers, the education
18 system and the introduction of extremely well-paid
19 exploration jobs. Further, on page 32 I suggest:

20 "Under present economic conditions of uncertainty
21 in the price of fur and the very inflated price of
22 trade goods, it would be foolhardy to assume that
23 fur income alone could sustain one's trade goods
24 needs. Therefore, under these conditions, native
25 people would be willing to accept wage employment.
26 However, should the economic situation change so
27 that for example, fur prices remained high and
28 wage labor rates began to fall off, I believe that
29 many natives would return to full-time hunting-
30 trapping."

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1 Given that this is my position, I can find nothing in the
2 quotes cited by Hobart that contradicts it. Furthermore
3 I find precious little in these quotes which were
4 selected by Hobart that actually supports the assertion
5 that the shift from a trapping to a wage labor focus was
6 perceived of by the Dene in positive terms, as his
7 use of the term "preference" would imply. Rather,
8 most of the quotes either implicitly or explicitly
9 support my contention that choices were not made voluntari-
10 ly but were forced on Dene through the operation of
11 externally caused factors. Thus, for example, Van
12 Stone's citation suggests that Dene at Snowdrift turned
13 from trapping to wage labor in the early '60's because:

14 "It was difficult to make money trapping".

15 Welsch states that trapping at Old Crow was dying in part
16 because of the low fur prices. Hurlbert alludes to the
17 collapse of fur prices as a main reason for the creation
18 of a desire for wage labor in Fort Good Hope and Helm
19 suggests in more general terms that:

20 "All factors, then, continue to operate to remove
21 the Indian from the bush settlement and into the
22 trading fort or white focus community where oppor-
23 tunity for wage labor and access to white goods,
24 services and subsidies is better".

25 In short then, these quotes actually support certain
26 specific assertions I make such as:

27 "The demise of furs as the medium of exchange in
28 the cash trade good sector has created a need to
29 substitute other forms of generating cash, including
30 wage labor."

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and, as well, do not conflict with my position that the issue of "preferences" must not be viewed in a vacuum, but rather in the context of economic conditions as well as the history of dependency and the intrusion of southern institutions into Dene life. Thus, I am perplexed at Dr. Hobart's assertion that my findings are at variance with the statements of many of the other researchers that he cites.

Concerning my analysis of the on-going importance of bush resources, Hobart suggests that my position that the bush is still viable is contradicted by other anthropologists. In response, let me say that the figures I have just outlined to the Commission evidence for themselves the on-going import of bush subsistence in recent years. This, of course, is completely supported by Rushforth's data, recent information which, it is interesting to note, Hobart chooses to ignore. It is supported as well by Derek Smith, an anthropologist often cited by Dr. Hobart in other contexts, when he states that in the delta today:

"More people are engaged in casual labor and are living in the settlements in improved housing.

But this does not mean that the land and its resources have become less significant for native people. There is less fishing since there are fewer dogs to feed, but there is more hunting (and more effective hunting) for meat for human consumption. Our 1965-67 data on the use of land resources estimated native peoples' reliance on these resources in terms of cash equivalent values. This

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1 showed that land activities were very significant.
2 There are other more powerful ways of estimating
3 the relationship to the land. For example, a quick
4 re-examination of our 1965-67 data shows that over
5 75% of the protein demand of native people was met
6 by land resources. An equally quick calculation
7 based on more recent figures show that this scale of
8 reliance on land resources has remained essentially
9 the same."

10 As well, David Smith an anthropologists who
11 recently completed research in Fort Resolution stated
12 in a recent letter to me that the bush economy of that
13 community is still "vitally important" and Joel
14 Savishinsky in another recent letter to me stated that
15 at Colville Lake, a community in which he has done
16 extensive research and about which he has written the
17 book "The Trail of the Hare", that bush resources
18 continue up to the present to be of profound importance
19 to the survival and subsistence of the Dene. He then
20 goes on to make a comprehensive list of the uses of
21 bush resources in that community and concludes by
22 stating that it is his:

23 "...distinct impression that similar situations
24 regarding the utilization of bush resources exist
25 at Fort Good Hope and Fort Franklin."

26 Finally, this position is also in complete accord with Dr.
27 Helm's overview evidence.

28 Therefore, I can only suggest
29 to Dr. Hobart that the statements made by Helm, Belicki,
30 Lurie and Fried during the late '50's and early '60's may

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1 'have relected their impression of the situation at that
2 time; the period immediately following the collapse
3 of the fur trade and the resultant depression -- and
4 as well represent their impressions of what might happen
5 should the situation continue along the same lines.
6 Clearly, the evidence on bush collection activities I
7 and others have shown indicates that these projections
8 did not come to pass, and that the people have maintained
9 or perhaps even increased in recent years, their
10 reliance on bush subsistence.

11 As a final response to Dr.
12 Hobart's intimation that my findings at Fort Wrigley
13 are at variance with those of other anthropologists who
14 have worked in other Dene communities, let me conclude
15 with a recent letter to me by Dr. Helm, a copy of which
16 is also attached. In commenting on my testimony she
17 says:

18 "You show proper scholarly modesty and caution in
19 indicating that your focus of research has been in
20 the Wrigley area. However, your characterization
21 in general accords with everything I know about
22 other areas of the Northwest Territories. Your
23 historical review is absolutely on the mark, and
24 so is your analysis of the nature of the contemporary
25 native economy."

26 There are many other assertions
27 made by Dr. Hobart not related to my testimony directly
28 which deserve a response. However, for the sake of
29 brevity, I will limit myself to one issue which I believe
30 is crucial for the Commission. It concerns the question of

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1 acculturation. On page 13, Dr. Hobart asserts that:

2 "The resulting precipitous acculturation is seen in
3 the tendency of most natives in the Territory to
4 regard native canoes and kayaks, tools of native
5 design of many kinds and dog teams in some areas,
6 long before comparably situated native peoples in
7 Alaska and Greenland did so."

8 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me.
9 You said " regard ". I am sure you intended to say
10 " discard ".

11 A What did I say?

12 Q You said "regard". I
13 think it should down on the tape as "discard". Go ahead.

14 A I am not exactly sure
15 where I said it.

16 Q Well you were citing
17 Hobart's statement.

18 A Oh, "discard" yes.

19 Q That's the word he used
20 and I just want the record to show that that's what
21 he said.

22 A Sorry. As you know
23 half of my baggage is in Fort Smith, including my
24 brain.

25 MR. STEEVES: I can't hear
26 that, what did you say?

27 A I said my baggage is
28 in Fort Smith, including half of my brain.

29 I am not certain of the
30 intent of this statement, but I fear that it may be seen

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1 'as implying that merely because native people have
2 adopted certain items of western technology, they
3 are losing their traditional values and replacing them
4 with western ones. Now, this proposition hold a
5 venerable place in the history of social science. That,
6 I suppose, is the best that can be said for it. A
7 more contemporary view of the nature of technological
8 adaptations in changing values can be found in statements
9 such as that of Derek Smith who says:

10 "Technological change which is very visible should
11 not be allowed to obscure the less visible but
12 very important continuities in reliance upon
13 traditional resources."

Indeed I would go one step further than that. Without modern hunting equipment, including rifles and snowmobiles, it would be virtually impossible for native people to continue to pursue their traditional land based subsistence activity in the contemporary situation, for in many cases they are located in areas far removed from traditional hunting grounds and often suffer from a lack of labour power. Therefore, it is the very existence of modern technology which enables Dene to cope with some of the disadvantages presented to them by our society. Thus, the point is clear, far from being mere indicators of "precipitous acculturation", items of western technology adopted by Dene may in fact, be one of the means by which they continue to maintain their traditional way of life in the new and trying circumstances we have presented to them.

In conclusion let me re-emphasize that I am not arguing that modern technology alone will solve the myriad of problems faced by the Dene due to our intrusions. Rather it only helps to cope with one of them. The solution, as I argue in my testimony, is the one proposed by the Dene themselves. It is a land settlement, which, should it follow the principles laid out in the Dene Declaration, will enable the people to regain control over their economic, social, political and all other aspects of their lives. From where they live to the education of their young, which we control now.

It is this solution which is

1 in full agreement with my research findings.

2 That concludes my remarks.

3 THE COMMISSIONER: Right. I
4 would like to just offer some comments on my understanding
5 of the evidence and then I'd like to make a suggestion
6 about the way we should proceed this morning.

7 A Excuse me, I can hardly
8 hear you.

9 Q Oh, I'm sorry. All right,
10 I don't want this -- I don't want the help that Mr.
11 Rushforth and Dr. Asch can provide us ^{with} and that Dr.
12 Hobart can provide us with to be obscured by a discussion
13 about whether your views were fairly represented by
14 Dr. Hobart in his discussion, and whether his were
15 properly represented by you and so on and so forth.

16 I think I should say that so
17 far as I am concerned, all of you are people that this
18 Commission should listen to carefully and where you
19 have these points of dispute, they seem to be vital
20 to the work of this Commission and I'd rather we talked
21 about the substance of those points rather than the
22 way you characterized each others evidence, which is
23 good fun, but not essential.

24 As I understood Dr. Hobart,
25 he said that two economies existed in the north, side
26 by side, the money economy and the bush economy and
27 he agreed with Dr. Asch that the native people of the
28 Mackenzie Valley continue to rely heavily on the bush
29 economy for subsistence, and he agreed that the ethic
30 of sharing persisted in the disposition of meat and fish

1 obtained from the bush.

2 Now, he felt that the research
3 carried out in the '60's by the social scientists that
4 he cited revealed that the Dene had expressed and
5 Inuit as well, a clear preference for wage employment
6 over trapping, but that preference was a preference
7 for wage employment as opposed to trapping for fur
8 bearers as a means of obtaining cash income. He felt
9 that the native people of the Mackenzie Valley had
10 largely moved away from trapping as a means of obtaining
11 cash income in the '60's and '70's. There were a
12 number of reasons he cited and I think Dr. Hobart
13 regarded the educational system and its substitution
14 of white values for native values as the principle
15 one. He cited the decline in the fur market in the '60's
16 and essentially the attractions -- these are my words,
17 not Dr. Hobart's, but I think he might agree with them.
18 The attractions that the metropolis offers to native
19 people, as opposed to life in the bush.

20 Now, it seems to me that
21 those are all propositions with respect to which both
22 of you are not very far apart. You both appear to
23 agree that even today the native people of the valley
24 rely very heavily on the bush and the barrens as -- for
25 meat and fish and Dr. Hobart agreed essentially with
26 your critique of Gemini North and with -- forgive me,
27 with Mr. Rushforth's critique of Gemini North, and he
28 says that the evidence shows that trapping has failed
29 to fill native needs for cash income. Dr. Hobart was
30 concerned and, if you all don't mind my taking a moment

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1 to see if we can't establish where we are at here.

2 Dr. Hobart acknowledged that
3 his evidence was at variance with what native peoples
4 said at the community hearings. There, they insisted
5 upon their desire to continue trapping, he says that
6 notwithstanding what they may say, they have been
7 voting with their feet. He cites the interest shown
8 by young men in native villages throughout the north
9 in employment with Hire North. He cites the interest
10 shown in employment in oil and gas exploration in the
11 delta and throughout the valley.

12 Now, it has occurred to me
13 that there might not be a great discrepancy here. The
14 people in the villages often spoke through interpreters
15 and there is a tendency for them and ourselves to use
16 trapping as a generic term, comprehending hunting,
17 fishing and trapping. That is the whole of bush activity
18 whether it be for food or for fur or for both and
19 whether it be to obtain cash income or not.

20 I say, in a purely tentative
21 way that the people in the villages seem to be insistent
22 upon demonstrating to the Inquiry the very great extent
23 to which they still depend upon the bush and the barrens
24 for food, not to mention their attachment to the land
25 as a reaffirmation of their identity as a distinct
26 people.

27 Often I think they described
28 the whole of bush life and the bush economy as trapping,
29 as I say, as a generic expression and were determined
30 to disavow the studies and reports, which seemed to them,

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1 to depreciate the extent to which they still use the
2 bush today.

3 Now, at the same time, it seems
4 to me and I put it in a tentative fashion that these
5 people in the villages were not rejecting wage employment;
6 they appeared to be alive to the same consideration
7 that was in the forefront of Dr. Hobart's thinking,
8 how to obtain a meaningful way of life, productive
9 way of life for the young and rapidly growing population
10 of the Mackenzie Valley.

11 Now, that's what Dr. Hobart
12 was -- has said to me on two occasions now and if you
13 stop there and do not go on to talk about the pipeline
14 project, it may well be that the foundation has been
15 laid to which all of you may subscribe. I'm putting
16 this roughly, but I was hoping we might see if we didn't
17 all agree on some of these things.

18 Now, the expression of prefer-
19 ences in the '60's that Dr. Hobart relied upon, and
20 he cited this ghastly instance of an Inuit saying,
21 "white man good, Eskimo no good" and he pointed out
22 that we would not be at all likely to hear any Inuit
23 say that today. It shows how things have changed here
24 in the last few years, and in the villages it may well
25 be that after a decade or more of experience with the
26 school system that trained their children for employment
27 in an economy that did not arrive, and wage employment
28 that has largely consisted of menial and sometimes
29 meaningless work. It may account for the fact that
30 often people in the villages -- at the Inquiry's hearings

1 in the villages, expressed dissatisfaction and that's
2 putting it, in some instances, that's a mild character-
3 ization of their views with what white employers, the
4 mining industry and the oil and gas industry had brought.

5 The same willingness that
6 Dr. Hobart observed in the '60's to denounce native
7 ways for white ways does not seem to be there now and
8 this is something that I think you all agree with, that
9 in the early '70's there has been a rebirth of native
10 pride in their history, traditions and identity. But,
11 that doesn't mean that they still do not see that
12 there has to be a productive way of life for all of
13 these -- for this young and rapidly growing population.

14 Now, Dr. Asch, you said you
15 dealt with the pipeline proposal and you said that that
16 really wouldn't provide meaningful and long-term wage
17 employment for this young and rapidly growing population.
18 That's essentially your point.

19 A Yes.

20 Q And as far as Dr. Hobart
21 is concerned, the jury is still out on that. He said
22 he wanted to hear further evidence.

23 Now, forgive me for going on
24 in that way, but I'm not anxious to have all of the
25 ground I've just covered thrashed about endlessly today,
26 if the propositions that I've cited are propositions
27 to which Drs. Asch and Hobart and Mr. Rushforth subscribe
28 in a general way. What I propose to do, I have to
29 make a phone call so I'm going to adjourn for a few
30 minutes and I suggest that counsel consider whether we

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1 shouldn't ask Dr. Hobart to join this panel and God
2 forgive me, perhaps even Dr. Usher as well, and let
3 them perhaps have a bit of a panel discussion for a
4 while and see if that doesn't help us along. I know
5 this is unorthodox and I'll be drummed out of the
6 league of Royal Commissioners, but maybe you'd just
7 think about it and we'll reassemble in a few minutes.

8 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)
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1 (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

2 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,
3 as you see from observing the layout of the room,
4 notwithstanding your request for new modes and
5 techniques in the search for truth, nothing has
6 changed in the interval.

7 MR. STEEVES: Oh, that's not
8 so. I was contemplating a three or four-hour cross-
9 examination and I'm not going to do that now.

10 MR. SCOTT: Well, that's
11 certainly an advantage. IN any event, both Mr. Bell
12 and Mr. Steeves agree that it would not be appropriate
13 to put Dr. Hobart on the panel at this time. Dr.
14 Hobart is anxious to be on the panel.

15 DR. HOBART: I'm not anxious.
16 I am eager to facilitate the processes of this
17 Inquiry in any way I can.

18 MR. SCOTT: Well, you and
19 Dr. Asch share that, but you respond to the lawyers
20 and the lawyers think in this context that it's
21 inappropriate, so I think, sir, with respect, we'll
22 have to be governed by that, at least for the moment.
23 That being so, it's perhaps --

24 THE COMMISSIONER: Maybe I
25 could have lunch with them both. Forgive me, we have
26 to live by the rules, and the interests of the
27 participants must be considered, and on the advice of
28 those they have retained to advise them, they don't
29 want to proceed in the way I suggested. Well, that's
30 fine. I certainly thank you, Dr. Asch and Dr. Hobart

1 and Mr. Rushforth for your willingness to co-operate.

2 MR. STEEVES: Can I say some-
3 thing?

4 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes.

5 MR. STEEVES: To make my
6 position clear, well it is sir, with respect, you
7 know, my position is that a debate in view of the
8 summing up you've given is unnecessary, and I can
9 very easily turn to Dr. Hobart and ask him, "Do you
10 disagree with anything that --"

11 MR. SCOTT: Well, before --

12 MR. STEEVES: -- has been
13 said. It's as simple as that.

14 MR. SCOTT: A person sitting
15 in the back of the room and asking him a question for
16 record, surely, sir, it's enough to say that at the
17 present time the counsel directly concerned, Mr. Bell
18 and Mr. Steeves, have thought it inadvisable to proceed
19 in that way. Now we don't, it seems to me, have to
20 enquire why or anything else.

21 MR. STEEVES: Am I allowed to
22 say why or not?

23 MR. SCOTT: Well, of course
24 you're perfectly entitled to say why, if any useful
25 purpose will be served by saying it.

26 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, if
27 you want to say why, you're welcome, and I don't want
28 to say why.

29 May I add a postscript to what
30 I said so that the Brotherhood and Arctic Gas understand

1 'that I appreciate their respective positions? The
2 Brotherhood's argument, as I understand it, is that
3 given this rebirth of native confidence and pride
4 in their own history, traditions and identity, they
5 are searching for a productive life that arises out
6 of or at least is linked to their life stemming from
7 the bush, and their traditions and their beliefs. All
8 of which I have clearly in mind, and they have argued
9 (because a good deal of their evidence has been just
10 that, argument, and there's nothing wrong with that)
11 they have argued that the pipeline project would
12 essentially be alien to those traditions. cast in its
13 present form, that is preceding the land claims
14 settlement in the broad sense; whereas Arctic Gas says
15 it will provide productive employment and measures can
16 be taken that will enable the Dene and the Inuit to
17 maintain their traditions and maintain their reliance
18 on the bush and still participate in the process of
19 modernization. I don't want to say anything more than
20 that because it's very difficult to summarize these
21 two opposing points of view in a sentence or two, but
22 I don't want anyone to think that I'm not aware of
23 the argument that rages quite apart from that substratum
24 that I tried to outline in my remarks earlier this
25 morning.

26 What I'm getting at is, what
27 kind of an economy does exist today? What are the
28 motivations of the people that live here? That's the
29 kind of thing I hope we can understand and come to
30 some agreement about, and then reimbarc on this

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1 controversy about the pipeline.

2 O.K., well, might I just
3 ask Mr. Scott if Mr. Rushforth and Mr. Asch, Dr.
4 Asch, might be allowed to comment now before cross-
5 examination on what I have said, and then cross-
6 examination can proceed? Might I just impose my
7 will on the Inquiry to do that?

8 MR. SCOTT: I take it, Mr.
9 Commissioner, that that doesn't require the consent
10 of Messrs. Bell and Steeves, so we'll --

11 MR. STEEVES: I'm glad you're
12 not the judge.

13 THE COMMISSIONER: Well,
14 gentlemen --

15 MR. SCOTT: You should be.

16 THE COMMISSIONER: -- I've
17 been musing out loud, thinking out loud, and feel
18 free to comment on what I've said.

19 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: O.K.
20 I'll comment on a few things. First of all, I think for
21 the most part I can agree with your assessment. However,
22 in addition, I think there are serious issues involved.
23 Some of those being the preferences of the native
24 people, what are they in fact? I think Dr. Asch and
25 myself would disagree with Dr. Hobart's assessment of
26 preferences. I think that's an essential issue which we
27 have to discuss.

28 There is no doubt that the
29 Dene`do in fact need cash nowadays, and I think there
30 is another serious issue concerning the kind of

1 means, the kind of production that is going to be
2 employed in obtaining that cash, and I think there
3 are serious issues to be resolved here which we can
4 discuss. Related to that, I think, is the issue of
5 acculturation and the persistence of native institutions,
6 native values, traditional beliefs, traditional
7 forms of knowledge, and again I think there is
8 serious disagreement between Dr. Hobart and Dr. Asch
9 and myself. I think all of these things should be
10 discussed in detail.

11 Should we just start with
12 those kinds of things, or I believe there is going
13 to be direct questioning involving this.

14 Q I've got you now. Let
15 me just pursue that with you because I notice that,
16 I thought that, you see, Dr. Asch and you brought out
17 the fact that the ethic of sharing persists in the
18 bush economy.

19 A That is in fact one of
20 the important values.

21 Q Yes, and just because
22 I don't cite all the others doesn't mean that I haven't
23 got them in mind. But Dr. Hobart said that that ethic
24 of sharing what was obtained from the bush was beginning
25 to break down in certain Inuit communities that he
26 cited -- Pond Inlet, Coppermine and so forth. One can
27 understand why, with wage employment a permanent feature,
28 so to speak, of those communities. I think you probably
29 read his evidence on that subject. He, in answer to
30 a question that somebody put to him, maybe it was Mr.

1 Bayly or Mr. Bell, said -- he said, "Well, what is
2 left of these values?" He may not have been doing
3 entire justice to his own view of the matter, but the
4 values that people in the communities cite are the
5 ethic of sharing. The way they have of reaching
6 decisions by consensus, you will recall Dr. Hobart's
7 reflections on that saying that that is -- arises out
8 of a hunting economy where everyone is engaged in the
9 same pursuit and one can understand why you would have
10 that consensus being reached among the hunting groups.

11 But now you have a divergence
12 of interests, and the consensus way of reaching decisions
13 may start to break down. He also said, another of the
14 values that is recited in the communities is the
15 respect that people have for their elders, which is,
16 I suppose, something that is characteristic of an
17 oral tradition, because the elders are in a sense the
18 vessels of traditional belief, traditional customs,
19 traditional lore, whereas we have, in our tradition
20 we have all these books. It's all written down. You
21 don't need elders. You can put them away in rest
22 homes.

23 The whole range of views that
24 can perhaps be subsumed under the heading that if
25 you're a Dene or an Inuit, you know you have a
26 special relationship with the bush or the barrens,
27 and you don't want to lose that. That enables you to
28 know who you are today. That's one of the things
29 that they have made it plain they want to retain.

30 Now, maybe you would

1 like to say what you intended to say and comment on
2 what I've said. I'm offering these things so that
3 you can comment, because Dr. Hobart put those thoughts
4 in my mind.

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1 A I can agree that all of
2 those are in fact traditional values to the native
3 people, however, I honestly don't see a deterioration
4 of those values based upon my work at Bear Lake,
5 decision making still involved a group consensus. In
6 fact, concerted action takes place when interests
7 are mutual. Those decisions generally aren't binding
8 on individual members of the group. In other words,
9 what I'm saying here is, for example, forming hunting,
10 trapping, fishing partnerships today at Bear Lake,
11 based upon the evidence I have collected now and evidence
12 regarding the way those things were done in the past,
13 they seem to do the same things now, the same processes
14 are involved when forming groups for example. There
15 is a reflection of the same kinds of values which
16 existed in the past. Perhaps, they are reflected on
17 the ground slightly differently in the sense that
18 those kinds of values, those kinds of rules, norms,
19 as it were, don't result in local bands, which persist
20 through time out on the land existing in small local
21 kin related groups, but they are expressed in hunting,
22 trapping, fishing partnerships, even though those perhaps
23 don't exist in time and space as long.

24 The point I'm making here is
25 that the same values, the same forms of knowledge, the
26 same norms, which I think existed in the past, are
27 used by the Bear Lake people today when organizing
28 things such as work groups. I think you'll find exactly
29 the same thing in terms of sharing and the other
30 kinds of things you mentioned. In other words, I think

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1 those values, those forms of knowledge persist today
2 and they're used perhaps in slightly different ways,
3 but people still in fact, use those to organize their
4 lives. Does that bear upon --

5 Q No, I'm very interested
6 in that. I wanted to provoke you into commenting on
7 those things.

8 WITNESS ASCH: Just a little
9 footnote to that and that is that I think we all agree
10 that as well in the wage economy, it's the question
11 of the cash that really is the individual possession.
12 When that cash is transformed into certain kinds of
13 goods, those goods are shared in the ways that the
14 bush resources are.

15 Q You made that point in --

16 A Right, so that's just
17 responding to the ethic of sharing is breaking down
18 as wage employment becomes more permanent, but there's
19 certain aspects of it, yes, and I do see the potential
20 for a very strong individualization of economic needs
21 and so on, but in the recent past shall we say, and I
22 think Scott could comment on that as well, in the recent
23 past, the distribution system, even within the cash
24 sector of the economy has followed the lines of re-
25 ciprocity which is characteristic of the bush production
26 system.

27 Q Do you want to add something
28 Mr. Rushforth?

29 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: Okay, perhaps
30 I could comment on another one of the values which I

1 mention in my paper which I refer to as industriousness,
2 the fact that the Bear Lake people highly value those
3 individuals who are, in fact, hard workers. The point
4 I would like to make here is that based upon my study
5 at Bear Lake, the individuals who are most valued in
6 terms of this particular belief are good hunters,
7 trappers and fishermen nowadays as opposed to the
8 good Hudson Bay worker, the good oil worker. In other
9 words, status at Bear Lake is still derived through
10 those traditional values as opposed to any western
11 work ethics that I can think of.

12 I'm fully convinced that
13 that values is persisting at Bear Lake.

14 WITNESS ASCH: Just one other
15 thing you provoked me on and that is you said, in terms
16 of respect for elders, I just want to turn it around
17 to our society. The assertion that you made was that
18 -- or Hobart suggested that the respect for elders
19 only exists in societies with oral traditions and I
20 think --

21 THE COMMISSIONER: No, that
22 was just sort of a purely gratuitous comment on his
23 part. I don't think Dr. Hobart said that.

24 A Okay, but even so I think
25 it's important to point out, just to use that, even
26 though it's an example off the top of your head, of
27 the fact that merely because people articulate with
28 the wage economy or articulate, not with the wage
29 economy, but say with a cash economy, it isn't necessarily
30 -- it doesn't necessarily follow that their institutions

1 have to change along the lines of the dominant society
2 and that indeed we have a lot of problems because of
3 the way we have been handling certain aspects of our
4 society that we would very much like to see changed
5 and perhaps rather than thinking about the older people
6 becoming more like us, in our society maybe we should
7 be thinking about how we can reconstruct under our
8 conditions, ways of maintaining respect for elders.

9 Q Yes, I think there isn't
10 a person in this room who wouldn't acknowledge the
11 value to the world of knowing about and thinking about
12 the life of the Dene and the Inuit people. I don't
13 think that there's anyone in this room who would
14 dissent from that.

15 There's another proposition
16 that perhaps no one in this room would dissent from
17 and that is if you've hear Mr. Gillie last week talk
18 about the educational system, if you read the views
19 of Dr. Helm and others as expressed in the late '50's
20 and early '60's, perhaps the most remarkable thing about
21 the Canadian north is the way in which these native
22 values have survived, have thrived. That is the remarkable
23 testimony to the variety of man I suppose, that these
24 things have survived in the way that Dr. Rushforth
25 perhaps more than anyone else is able to testify to
26 currently. Anyway, carry on.

27 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: I think
28 I would like to respond to that for a second. If we
29 can all agree that native institutions, native values,
30 native beliefs are surviving, I think the issue is to

1 come up with a means of obtaining cash which will not
2 destroy further those native beliefs, values, traditions.
3 I think that is the Dene preference, I think stated
4 time and time again at the community hearings that they
5 want to maintain this cultural tradition.

6 Okay, and so the issue is
7 how can the dominant western society ensure that that
8 in fact is done and I think I'm through right there,
9 for now.

10 THE COMMISSIONER: I think
11 you've put the issue very well. You wanted to add
12 something Dr. --

13 WITNESS ASCH: No, I think
14 that Mr. Rushforth has expressed my opinions on it.
15 You did mention that there were -- he did mention, I
16 just want to remind you Scott, in case there's something
17 else you want to say, that there were three things,
18 the way to assess preference, the kind of means of
19 obtaining cash and acculturation and persistence of
20 cultural institution. I just wondered if there was
21 anything you wanted to say about any of the others.

22 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: Do you
23 have anything?

24 WITNESS ASCH: No. I mean,
25 you know, I could say some things but we're trying to
26 expedite this, and I agree in substance with Mr. Rushforth's
27 comments.

28 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, look
29 we've been expediting this for 17 months.

30 A Okay.

1 Q And if you've got some-
2 thing important to say, now is the time.

3 A No, I'll just leave it.
4 I'll leave it.

5 MR. SCOTT: You're expediting
6 it right into everybody coming back next Monday.

7 Mr. Bayly, do you have any questions?
8 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BAYLY:

9 MR. BAYLY: Yes, I have one
10 question. Dr. Asch, in your comments on Dr. Hobart's
11 evidence, the one thing that you don't appear to have
12 mentioned is his theory of acculturation, and I won't
13 go into that in any detail because I did cross-examine
14 him in Inuvik. Could you make comments on that theory
15 and tell us whether in your opinion it is one that can
16 be applied to Wrigley and other areas in which you
17 have some -- have made some observation.

18 A Yes, I think so. I hope
19 this -- I hope I can be succinct about it. I think
20 that the model that supports the position that the
21 pipeline is a solution really rests -- really in anthro-
22 pology it comes down to the acculturation model itself,
23 and this model suggests that as two societies collide
24 with each other, there's a dominant one and a subservient
25 one and that ultimately the subservient one transforms
26 itself into something like the dominant one with, in
27 more recent years, I would say, with the proviso that
28 the subservient culture still maintains a heck of a
29 lot of its traditional values in institutions.

30 What the model really fails
to deal with, and I think what is of concern to us here,

Asch & Rushforth
CROSS EXAM BY BARRY

1 at least the first thing, is the question of whether
2 the choices that are being made by people, or the
3 historical process is one of free choice or one where
4 you're just concerned with the observed phenomenon.
5 That is, on day one they did something, on day five
6 they did something else or in year five they did some-
7 thing else, without concern for the underlying processes
8 that have motivated changes in certain directions.

9 Now, because of that, I think,
10 because of the way that that model operates and the
11 underlying assumption of free choice, you end up with
12 a point at which people have replaced so many of their
13 values by free choice with other values, that it is
14 essentially impossible for them to retain their traditional
15 way of life.

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 I think that that model may be
2 applicable in situations where people really do volun-
3 tarily decide to incorporate into the dominant society.
4 To use a personal example, the case of my parents
5 who came from Eastern Europe and -- well, at least
6 my father did, -- but by the time they came to me,
7 I certainly assimilated quite a bit of Canadian
8 North American values. But it isn't really true of
9 situations where coercion or where there's intrusion
10 from a dominant society into another, that is where
11 there isn't free choice. In these kind of situations
12 you find people resisting.

13 Now, to put it sort of
14 bluntly or obtusely, I would suspect that if people
15 were really integrating our values and using an
16 acculturation -- perceiving themselves in an accultura-
17 tional sense, they would be embracing the pipeline.
18 You would be going to the communities and finding
19 everyone agreeing that the pipeline is a really good
20 thing, or at least a lot of people doing it. You
21 would find a few older people saying, "We don't want
22 that kind of thing, we're afraid of what will happen."

23 But I don't think you'd find that. I think you'd
24 find in a sense that there is no Rubicon that's been
25 crossed by some generation of people, but you find
26 that in general people are saying, "We don't want this
27 as a solution. We want to regain control of our
28 institutions."

29 I think maybe I'm not putting
30 it very well, but I think that that's one of the first

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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 problems in an acculturation model. You've got to be
2 able to distinguish between coercion and free choice.
3 As well, without getting personal, I think that Dr.
4 Hobart and I have a disagreement regarding whether
5 or not technology is an indicator^{of}/change. This may
6 not seem to be an issue of vital concern to the
7 Commission, but in a sense it is. As I think I say
8 in my rejoinder, that technology itself, just because
9 you're wearing a certain kind of clothing or using
10 a certain kind of technology, does not mean that you
11 have embraced all the values of western society. It
12 may mean that you are using certain tools of western
13 society in order to pursue traditional or whatever
14 goals you want to pursue. Certainly this is an issue
15 that has to be faced.

16 I think an indication of that
17 is Dr. Hobart's assertion that in his overview evidence
18 that when the first tools came in, the people became
19 dependent upon the west. I really don't think that
20 that is supported by the facts. In fact, people refused
21 to trade very frequently in the early period and that
22 in fact traditional methods of hunting were superior
23 to western methods until very late, until the 20th
24 century, in any case.

25 So it wasn't that, in my
26 opinion, that really created this new economy. It
27 wasn't the introduction of tools. It was in fact the
28 creation of a new set of economic relationships, and
29 I think that we mustn't forget that, and that the
30 pipeline is again going to create a whole new set of

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Cross-Exam by Rayly

1 economic relationships. Given the size of the project,
2 it is going to really inundate the traditional economy.

3 Q So Dr. Asch, what you're
4 telling us with regard to acculturation that is differ-
5 ent from what Dr. Hobart has said, is that a person
6 who is being acculturated must exchange his values
7 for those of the dominant society, not just his tools
8 -- his canoes, his spears for guns, etc.

9 A I'm not exactly sure.
10 You're saying that -- would you repeat it? Let me
11 put it that way, it would be easier to do that.

12 Q I believe the difference
13 between your evidence and Dr. Hobart's with regard
14 to acculturation is that you speak of the society
15 that would be acculturated as substituting values
16 from the dominant society for its own values, not just
17 tools.

18 A Yes, I would agree with
19 that.

20 Q And Dr. Hobart's evidence
21 does not appear to me to speak of values; it appears
22 to speak more of technology and tools and utensils.

23 A Well, let's say that he
24 comes closer to making a direct connection between the
25 tools and the values than I would.

26 Q All right.

27 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: May I
28 comment on that?

29 Q yes, Mr. Rushforth.

30 A Social scientists have

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 often constructed indices or an index of acculturation
2 by asking questions such as the following:

3 "When is the last time that you made a pair of
4 snow shoes? Within the last year? Within the last
5 two years? Within the last five years?"

6 Well, if a person made a pair
7 of snow shoes within the last year, he's assumed to
8 be less acculturated than the individual who made a
9 pair of snow shoes five years ago. Well, a good pair
10 of snow shoes should last more than five years. You
11 see the point I'm making?

12 Those kind of indices that
13 use material culture as an indices of acculturation,
14 regardless of the problems with the acculturation
15 model, are less than desirable, in my opinion.

16 Q I assume too, Mr. Rush-
17 forth, that if for some reason western technology was
18 able to produce a better pair of snow shoes than cer-
19 tain community of Indians could make, then they might
20 substitute that piece of technology the way they might
21 of substituted guns for spears, without necessarily
22 becoming greatly acculturated.

23 A And without losing the
24 knowledge of how to make the snow shoes, say two years
25 from now all of the Hudson's Bay snow shoes are
26 broken, they would still presumably possess the
27 knowledge to build another pair of snow shoes themselves.
28 The Bear Lake people, if they could no longer get
29 metal ice chisels, could very easily go out and con-
30 struct ice chisels with stone. Do you see my point?

Arch. A. Rushforth
Cross Exam by Bayly

1 Q All right. There's the
2 other thing about acculturation I'd like to ask the
3 two of you, is that -- and this isn't something that
4 Dr. Hobart specifically said -- but there seems to be
5 an indication that acculturation is a one-way street.
6 Once you get on it, you can't get off it. Once
7 something has started in the '60s it must continue
8 into the '70s and '80s in the same direction. Is that
9 something that you would agree with?

10 WITNESS ASCH: Well, it's
11 something that certainly seems to underlie an
12 acculturation model. It also seems to be contradicted
13 by the facts, in this particular case, for example,
14 where I think one of the things, if I can read into the
15 minds of the anthropologists who were working at that
16 time, assumed an acculturation model and as a result
17 they made projections which appear now to be incorrect,
18 about the nature of native values and the erosion of
19 those values. So therefore we have a test case in the
20 north of the utility of the acculturation model and
21 it's been disproved by the facts.

22 Q And I suppose using that
23 model, we would expect that the Indian people in
24 Southern Canada would become far more acculturated
25 or should be far more acculturated than the Indians
26 in Fort Simpson, for example, because of length of
27 exposure to television sets, if we followed that model.

28 A Well, with one very
29 important exception, which is that I think the most
30 sophisticated use -- and Scott can correct me if I'm

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 incorrect -- would be Murphy & Stewart's "Hunters &
2 Trappers" article, which appeared in the '50s and was
3 very significant in terms of the kind of research
4 anthropologists had done at that time, and it's just
5 now being reassessed, I would say, in the last 5-10
6 years, and there they do make a distinction between
7 different kinds of societies, levels of integration
8 in societies. So that a band society in Southern
9 Canada should definitely have disappeared before a
10 band society in the north, but not necessarily the
11 Indians of the north-west coast, for example, who
12 had a more elaborate form of social organization.

13 Q And I take it that what
14 we have seen in Southern Canada with the Indian move-
15 ment giving Indian peoples at least a greater public
16 consciousness of their own identity as a group, may be
17 another example of this apparent reversal of certain
18 trends. In other words, we might have said in the
19 '50s that Indians don't like being Indians and are
20 going to become white men, but now it would be very
21 difficult to say that.

22 A I don't know whether
23 many social scientists working in Southern Canada were
24 saying that in the '50s. I think that in fact -- and
25 I'm just trying to remember quickly -- in fact by that
26 time I think they had recognized already that that
27 model was not really working in Southern Canada. So
28 with that proviso I would agree. I would also -- I
29 also do not want to assert that necessarily the new
30 movements represent just a persistence of native

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 values. In fact I think you have to go further than
2 that and suggest that they represent a new integration
3 of native values and a realization that in the contem-
4 porary context there are certain new kinds of alliances
5 that must be created, and new kinds of organizations
6 that must be formed because the entity they face is
7 quite different. But certainly it would appear that
8 the entities that they had created had been developed
9 out of traditional institutions and values.

10 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, let
11 me ask you about something that Mr. Puxley said in
12 his evidence, that culture is what people do together.

13 A M-hm.

14 Q Now, I may not be doing
15 justice to Mr. Puxley, but Mr. Gillie pointed out -- he
16 was the Director of Education here, and then he
17 retired, and he came back to give evidence last week --
18 he said that one of the great advantages that our
19 system of education had conferred upon the Dene was
20 to provide them with a common language -- English,
21 which means that people who speak Slavey and Loucheux
22 and Dogrib, Chipewyan and Cree have a universal language
23 now, and they are making use of that language in a
24 sense to perpetuate their culture.

25 Now I'm not putting this
26 very well, but it seems to me that that is what Mr.
27 Puxley was driving at, and Mr. Kakfwi, who was on the
28 education panel last week, said with some vehemence
29 that white people had a tendency to look at native
30 carving, some kind of craft or making some kind of craft

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 carving a carving and so on and so forth, and to think
2 that that was what being an Indian was all about,
3 what being a Dene was all about. He said, "No, it's
4 us, who we are, what we are."

5 What intrigued me was that
6 making use of the language that our system provided
7 them with, they have made it a means of uniting
8 themselves throughout this valley, which may be as
9 much a cultural manifestation -- this is what I
10 thought Mr. Puxley was getting at -- as the fact that
11 native people in Northern B.C. carved totem poles.
12 Do you want to comment on that?

W. H. Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: I don't
2 think I would like to comment. I'd like to see and I
3 haven't read that testimony.

4 Q O.K.

5 A It strikes me as being
6 a fairly complex issue and I'm simply not prepared.
7 I would like to --

8 Q I didn't get a passing
9 grade on that one. You see they're making use of
10 English.

11 A Yes.

12 Q But not to assimilate
13 themselves but to maintain their identity. That seems
14 to me --

15 A That's very possible.
16 It seems reasonable but I would also want to say that
17 the maintenance of the native language is one of the
18 primary means through which culture is maintained.

19 Q Oh, I have no doubt.

20 A So I certainly wouldn't
21 want to follow that to the conclusion that the acquisition
22 of English on the part of the Dene --

23 Q Let me put it this way
24 Mr. Rushforth. You see, a lot of people in southern
25 Canada at those southern hearings thought that they
26 were -- that it would be a good thing if we preserved
27 Dene culture. They thought that that was something that
28 entailed people being allowed to live by themselves,
29 insulated from the main currents of western life and
30 hunting, fishing and having drum dances -- it was a

Asch, Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 picture of what is going on among the Dene that doesn't
2 seem to conform to what we have observes. That is,
3 certainly they want to preserve their own languages
4 but they have acquired the use of English and made it
5 a language -- made it a means of uniting all of the
6 Dene.

7 I mean, I put that in the
8 very broadest sense. Whether they are currently
9 united for all purposes is something that's not really
10 any of my business but in a broad cultural sense,
11 it's significant. They've used English to maintain
12 their own identity instead of English being the
13 vehicle through which they all became like us. Do
14 I make any sense?

15
16 WITNESS ASCH: No, that
17 part of it certainly does.

18 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: No, I
19 don't think we're arguing here for a back to the bush,
20 back to the teepee.

21 Q No, I know you're not.

22 WITNESS ASCH: I would just
23 comment, I am not sure about whether I'll accept
24 without saying a word that I'm not sure what Mr. Puxley
25 means by the statement "Culture is what people do together".

26 Q That's just one sentence
27 that I --

28 A Certainly the other part
29 of it I agree with completely.

30 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: Could I go

Asch, Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 back to something?

2 Q Sure.

3 A --that originally started
4 your point as well. The acculturation model is very
5 mechanistic. It assumes that when two cultures come
6 together, people give up one set of beliefs, values,
7 systems of knowledge and internalize the values and
8 beliefs of the dominant culture. It roughly assumes
9 that any future change must involve the utilization
10 of the acquired culture.

11 I think that's probably not
12 the best kind of view to take. I prefer to look at
13 individuals as problem solvers for example. The issue
14 here being whether or not the native forms of knowledge,
15 institutions, beliefs which have persisted will be
16 useful to the Dene in solving future problems. I think
17 they will. I don't think we can assume whole-heartedly
18 that only western beliefs, only western traditions
19 are going to be of any value to the native people when
20 confronting new socio-economic situations. I think
21 if alternatives are there, that the Dene can very
22 well utilize all of the knowledge, beliefs, values which
23 have persisted in forming an economy which is very
24 compatible with those beliefs and through which they
25 can obtain the cash they need.

26 Q Yes, well Mr. Horte, the
27 president of Arctic Gas said in Vancouver and again at
28 Toronto that if he thought that the pipeline project
29 would mean the extinction of a culture, he wouldn't
30 want anything to do with the project. I think everybody

Asch, Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Bayly
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 agrees that for the Dene and for us, the
2 preservation of their knowledge and their customs and
3 their traditions is important. Not important, an
4 aspect of life that is vital and something that the
5 Canadian tradition has always respected.

6 Now, are we back to the lawyers?
7 I guess we are. Mr. Bayly you had finished?

8 MR. BAYLY: I was only going
9 to ask if there was anything with regard to the evidence
10 that I deduced from Dr. Asch that Mr. Rushforth --

11 WITNESS ASCH:
12 A I can't hear you very
13 well.

14 Q I was just going to ask
15 Mr. Rushforth if there was anything on the comments
16 made by Dr. Asch concerning acculturation that he
17 wanted to add.

18 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: I think
19 I added the comments that I have. I concur with the
20 things that he said.

21 MR. BAYLY: I have no further
22 questions then of this panel. Thank you very much.

23 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Reesor?

24 MR. REESOR: No questions, thank
25 you.

26 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Steeves.

27 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. STEEVES:

28 Q Just like Mr. Bayly I
29 have one question sir.

30 I'm sorry, is it Dr. Rushforth?

A Mr. Rushforth.

Arch, Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves.

1 Q Mr. Rushforth. I would
2 like to address these questions to you. I understand
3 you criticize the use --

4 MR. SCOTT: Excuse me Mr.
5 Steeves. Could you use the microphone please?

6 MR. STEEVES: Yes, O.K. Sorry.
7 I understand that you professionally criticize the
8 degree to which the people in the north -- the native
9 people -- have taken up southern technology --

10 A No.

11 Q --as being a measure of
12 the degree of acculturation. You say that's not a
13 good measure at all.

14 A It's part of a measure
15 but it's certainly not a complete measure. I think
16 for the most part, it's been the only measure. That's
17 my criticism.

18 Q Now, is a good measure
19 the continuation of the existence and the vitality
20 if there is existence of the traditional institutions
21 of the people?

22 A What do you mean by
23 "institutions" first of all?

24 Q Well I mean things like
25 family, their political system, their economic system,
26 their educational system. I mean aren't those --
27 do you not understand those as traditional institutions?

28 A Yes, O.K. Fine.

29 Q Now, do you agree with
30 me that if you look at the question first of all whether

Asch, Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 or not those traditional institutions continue to
2 exist and how strong they are is a good measure of
3 acculturation?

4 A Sure, I will agree with
5 that.

6 Q O.K.

7 A It depends of course to
8 what extent you can discover whether or not those
9 institutions exist; based upon my stay at Bear Lake,
10 although there have been western institutions imposed
11 from the top as it were, that the native family continues
12 to be a strong institution, Dene husbands and wives
13 continue to teach their children religious beliefs --
14 traditional religious beliefs continue very strong at
15 Bear Lake.

16 Q Well look -- will you
17 just answer my questions and then you and I can go back
18 and forth?

19 A O.K.

20 Q Your answer is "yes", is
21 it?

22 A I can't remember your
23 question.

24 Q I'm sorry, were you not
25 responding to my question?

26 A I thought it was a -- I
27 didn't think that it could take a "yes" or "no" answer.
28 If you're asking the question whether or not Dene
29 institutions as you define them exist -- persist, yes.

30 Q I haven't asked you that.
Why don't we just go slowly.

Asch, & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 A O.K.

2 Q I asked you whether or
3 not the existence and vitality of those institutions
4 is a good measure of the degree of acculturation and
5 you agreed with me I think.

6 A O.K.

7 Q Is your answer yes?

8 A No, it's a qualified
9 agreement. If you can come up with good ways of
10 determining whether or not those institutions are
11 existing. Measuring material culture I don't think
12 is a good index itself.

13 Q O.K. All right. Now,
14 I'd like to take you through a few of these traditional
15 institutions and ask you about your view or your
16 knowledge as to (a) whether or not they still exist
17 in traditional form, and, (b) -- pardon? Did you
18 want to interrupt me?

19 A No, go ahead.

20 Q whether or not they still
21 exist in traditional form and, (b), if the do, how
22 strong they are.

23 Let's take the family first
24 of all. Does the extended family exist generally
25 throughout the area of the Mackenzie Valley and the
26 delta?

27 A I can answer that in terms
28 of Bear Lake?

29 Q You don't know anything
30 about the valley or any other area but Bear Lake, is

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 that what you are saying?

2 A Well, I am more qualified
3 to speak about the Bear Lake people and that answer
4 is yes. Based upon my reading, the nuclear family and
5 the extended family continues to be a viable institution.

6 Q Well, you've read Dr.
7 Asch's evidence?

8 A Yes.

9 Q As I understand what he
10 says, the insertion of government payments into the
11 economic system has destroyed the extended family and
12 replaced it with a nuclear family.

13 A I think he -- I'm not
14 sure if that's what he said. I would disagree if
15 that's the --

16 Q Well, O.K. Let's turn
17 it up.

18 MR. SCOTT: Dr. Asch, could
19 you speak into the microphone.

20 WITNESS ASCH: All I said
21 was let's see what Mr. Steeves uses to describe my
22 statement.

23

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 MR. STEEVES: Q Would you
2 look at page 15 of Dr. Asch's prepared evidence, the
3 second paragraph, to yourself?

4 A Having given my copy to
5 Mr. Rushforth, I wonder if there's a copy for me
6 around?

7 Q I'm thinking particularly
8 of this passage:

9 "Thus beginning no later than 1960, the nuclear
10 family typically composed of an older married
11 couple and their adult and younger children be-
12 came the primary self-sufficient economic unit."

13 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: O.K., can
14 I respond to that?

15 Q Please do.

16 A O.K., your original
17 wording of that question was whether or not the
18 extended family was destroyed -- I certainly don't
19 see the word "destroy" there. In addition, what I was
20 trying to say earlier in terms of my evidence is that
21 people use the knowledge they possess, which they
22 acquire through their culture, their values in order
23 to solve problems. Whether or not on the ground families
24 are composed slightly differently, now as say ten
25 years ago, I claim specifically that they're still
26 using traditional means of organizing those family
27 groups. I mean if you're talking about institution,
28 the institution family as the number of nuclear
29 versus extended families on the ground, I don't think
30 that's a good way to approach it.

WILLIAM RUSHFORTH
CROSS-Exam by Steeves

1 At Bear Lake, for example,
2 the way families are organized now in my opinion is
3 exactly the same way they were organized in the past,
4 in terms of the underlying values, the kinds of social
5 principles which they use to organize those families.

6 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
7 Mr. Rushforth. What comment do you make on that
8 sentence from Dr. Asch's evidence? He says, as I
9 understand it, that the basic economic unit is
10 the nuclear family, a man and a woman and their
11 children.

12 A O.K., do you want a
13 specific comment?

14 Q Yes.

15 A I think that's true
16 at Bear Lake. The primary economic unit is the
17 family. I don't think that that unit is self-sufficient,
18 however.

19 MR. STEEVES: Q Well, is it
20 the nuclear family or the extended family?

21 A It's both.

22 Q Which is the primary
23 unit?

24 A Which is?

25 Q Yes.

26 A At Bear Lake?

27 Q Yes.

28 A I would have to -- these
29 are technical terms. If you want me to tell you what
30 a nuclear and an extended family is, I can do that and

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 is that in some households you'll find a nuclear family
2 and in others an extended family.

3 A Absolutely.

4 MR. STEEVES: Was that --
5 excuse me. Pardon me, sir.

6 THE COMMISSIONER: Go ahead.

7 MR. STEEVES: Q And was that,
8 Mr. Rushforth, the case 100 years ago, 200 years ago?

9 A Yes, I think it was.

10 Q Just let me finish, please.
11 You would find in any group or settlement some nuclear
12 families and some extended families?

13 A Based upon what I know
14 of the history of the Dene people, yes.

15 Q Go back to pre-contact
16 times.

17 A O.K., yes.

18 Q Just a minute, please.

19 A Let me answer your
20 question. You haven't let me finish.

21 Q Pardon me.

22 A If you'll read the
23 early explorers, for example, Alexander Mackenzie, who
24 came down the Mackenzie River in 1789, said things like
25 the following -- I'm talking about the area with
26 which I am concerned, the central area -- "I camped at
27 the mouth of the Great Bear Lake and met five families,
28 three of which were Dogrib," not counting absolutely
29 but these are rough figures, I can get the evidence if
30 you want. Seven miles down the river I encountered eight

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 families, brief description. " 15 miles further down
2 the river I encountered 17 families. The point I'm making
3 is that although people were living in local groups,
4 during that period of time, families were the constitu-
5 ent units of the local groups. That is true today at
6 Bear Lake. In answer to your question, the family, I
7 think, has always been one of the primary units of
8 Dene society.

9 Q Well, I think we agree
10 on that. You know, I want to go to my question again.
11 I want you to go back into pre-contact times and tell
12 me whether or not in your opinion the extended family
13 and the nuclear family existed side by side in those
14 times.

15 A Well, again --

16 Q You can give me examples
17 if you wish, but I would really appreciate it if you
18 could answer that "yes" or "no" and then give your
19 explanation.

20 A You know, the only thing
21 I know about pre-contact times is what I've read in
22 the early journals, and based upon what they say,
23 nuclear and extended families -- O.K., yes, in answer
24 to your question, they were constituent units.

25 Q So for the people in the
26 north, nuclear and extended families, have existed
27 from time immemorial. Is that right?

28 A Based upon my understanding,
29 that is probably correct.

30 Q O.K. May I ask you for

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 a comment on that, Dr. Asch? Are you of the same
2 opinion?

3 WITNESS ASCH: Well --

4 Q Sorry, do you want to
5 look at your evidence?

6 A Well, no. It's not
7 possible for me to read the 40 pages over again before
8 I look, so I think that in regard to the question of
9 nuclear families, the reason that I listed the actual
10 constituent members of the typical family is that it's
11 hard to really define whether that's a nuclear family
12 or an extended family, and so I wasn't exactly sure
13 what to do. What do you do with adult males who are
14 unmarried and in their 40's? Is that part of the
15 nuclear family or is that part of an extended family?
16 So instead of trying to say, "Are they a nuclear
17 family or an extended family?" Which is a technical
18 term, I actually listed the family members and
19 so I think later in my testimony I do say that it's
20 the nuclear or extended family. I do think I say
21 that, so I am of the opinion that there was a change
22 in the organization of production, particularly with
23 respect to the cash sector of the economy with the
24 introduction of family allowance payments and those
25 things directly to family heads. So I do agree with
26 your general assertion that there was some change
27 that occurred in 1960. I do not deny that there was.
28 If you pursue this line with me, I'll give you some
29 answers as to my opinions, but otherwise I won't
30 raise them.

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 Q I'd like to go back to
2 my question, please. Is it your opinion that the
3 nuclear family and the extended family have existed
4 in Dene and Inuit societies since time immemorial?

5 A Well, that's --

6 Q Can't you answer that
7 "yes" or "no" with an explanation?

8 A I can answer that "I
9 don't know" with an explanation.

10 Q O.K., that's good.

11 That's a good answer.

12 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, I'd
13 like to hear the explanation.

14 A The explanation is that
15 given the records that we have, we only know what
16 the situation was in 1789. I do not presume that
17 people remain exactly the same from time immemorial
18 to time immemorial, and I don't know what the
19 dynamics of the history of the Dene were prior to
20 contact, except in a very limited extent, and so I
21 would not venture to make comments about time immemorial.

22 MR. STEEVES: O.K., well
23 what about 100 years ago? Did the extended family and
24 the nuclear family exist side by side 100 years ago?

25 A Exist side by side?
26 Yes, unless you become more specific I'd have to say
27 "yes" to that.

28 Q O.K., and you'd say the
29 same 50 years ago and the same today?

30 A Well yes, I guess so.

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 Q Has there been a change?

2 A No, I understand what

3 you're trying to get at. I'm just -- I say there

4 has been a change of some sort, and I'm not --

5 Q Tell me what the

6 change has been.

7 A I just did.

8 Q Well, try again.

9 A O.K., with family
10 allowance payments coming into nuclear family heads
11 or to the mother in particular, what happened in
12 that particular sector of the economy changed certain
13 things, changed certain aspects of the organization of
14 production and that aspect of the economy, and I think
15 there are other changes as well.

16 Q Well get to that.

17 A O.K., there's my answer
18 to your question.

19 Q What was the traditional
20 way, insofar as the family life as to marriage
21 arrangements?

22 A As to --

23 Q Marriage arrangements.

24 Do you understand what I'm getting at?

25 A Generally, yes.

26 Q I am instructed that
27 if you're going to talk about traditional family life
28 with the Dene and the Inuit that marriages were
29 arranged, by and large, and they weren't left to chance
30 encounter. Do you agree with that?

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 A O.K., I'll answer you
2 "yes" so we can get going on this.

3 THE COMMISSIONER: Well no,
4 let's just --

5 A Well, you know, it's
6 really difficult. It's true that two individuals
7 did not, and I presume still do not just meet at
8 random in most cases. It is also true that in the
9 earlier period there were some formal arrangements
10 which I see having certain persistence today in
11 Wrigley anyway, but I want to know in what direction
12 we're going before I can really firm up what "arrange-
13 ments" means. Like there weren't people sitting down
14 and bargaining over women, I don't think.

1 MR. STEEVES: I mean, why
2 do you want me to -- I'm not being offensive to these
3 people.

4 A No, no, it's just arrange-
5 ments --

6 Q What I am talking about
7 when I say "arrangements," is that the parents of the
8 male person and the parents of the female person make
9 arrangements between them for their marriage.

10 A Provided that the kids
11 accept it, okay?

12 Q Okay, we'll agree that
13 that's an arranged marriage, so that we understand
14 each other, do we?

15 A For the purpose of under-
16 standing each other.

17 THE COMMISSIONER: Provided
18 the kids accept it?

19 A Yes, so how much of
20 an arrangement?

21 Q Yes, all right, but we'll
22 define that as an arranged marriage.

23 MR. STEEVES: Agreed?

24 A Yes.

25 Q Was the arranged marriage
26 a vital part of family life in the traditional way?

27 A Yes.

28 Q Okay. Is it still a
29 vital part in the Mackenzie Valley and in the delta?

30 A Again, can I start with

1 Wrigley and then try and say some other things?

2 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, start
3 with Wrigley, that's what you know best, right?

4 A There was, in the last
5 little while, a certain problem because of that in
6 Wrigley, a problem which has been resolved in recent
7 years and indeed, the traditional forms of marriage
8 seem to be existing in Wrigley.

9 Now, if I get into the problems
10 it's rather technical and I think it's also something
11 that perhaps is not necessary to go into here, as it
12 does discuss the specific lives of individuals and
13 there are only a hundred people in that community.

14 Q Well, I
15 don't think we should do that. I don't think anyone
16 wants you to.

17 A But, I would say yes.
18 Now, as far as Fort Simpson goes, it's my impression
19 that in many cases the answer is no. Okay?

20 MR. STEEVES: Can you say
21 anything about the delta?

22 A Nope.

23 Q Can you say anything
24 about any communities other than those you're intimately
25 concerned with, that is Wrigley and Simpson?

26 A Well, I think there's
27 some comments in Savishinsky's stuff in "Trail of
28 the Hare", but I could look them up. I do believe that
29 they generally conform to my statement.

30 Q Is everything that you've

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 told us, Dr. Asch, subject to this qualification,
2 that what you say is so, if your knowledge, limited
3 as to Simpson and Wrigley applies to the whole of
4 the region affected by the pipeline?

5 A Yes.

6 Q All right. Now, I want
7 to speak to you, while we're talking about -- and
8 I'd like to turn to you Mr. Rushforth.

9 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: M-hm.

10 Q We're talking about
11 family, as a traditional institution and I want to
12 speak to the role of women. Have you been in the
13 bush with a trapper and his family?

14 A Yes.

15 Q Have you seen the activities
16 and responsibilities of the trapper's wife while they're
17 trapping?

18 A I've observed a little,
19 yes.

20 Q Well, do you know what
21 I'm talking about? What she has to do.

22 A Uh huh.

23 Q I suggest to you that it
24 would be very, very difficult for a young man in his
25 late teens or early 20's living anywhere in the Mackenzie
26 Valley or in the delta to find a girl who would be
27 interested in going out with him on the trapline to
28 engage in the kind of activity which would be required
29 of her, as a trapper's wife. Do you agree or disagree
30 with that statement?

1
2 A I'm not -- could you
3 restate that once more?

4 Q I'm sorry, I'm not playing
5 games with you, I'm talking here, obviously, about
6 the--

7 A You suggest to me that
8 there are very few women that would want to engage
9 in those sorts of activities?

10 Q I'm suggesting to you
11 that there are very few women who's training, background
12 and experience would cause them to be interested in
13 those activities.

14 A I don't know, that may
15 be the case, it may not be the case.

16 Q Well, haven't you thought
17 about the effect of education on the young people?

18 A Yes, in fact --

19 Q On their interests and
20 aspirations.

21 A Yes.

22 Q And haven't you thought
23 about what they're taught by white southerners about
24 the rules of health and how you must keep dirt out
25 from under your fingernails and so on. Have you thought
26 about that?

27 A Not about dirt under
28 the fingernails, but --

29 Q You know what I -- don't
30 you know what I'm talking about?

A Yes, I do.

1 Q All right.

2 A The only thing I could --

3 Q Are the young women in
4 Bear Lake, are they ideally suited as a result of what
5 they've gone through in childhood to take up the role
6 of a trapper's wife?

7 A Well, they're probably
8 not as well suited as women were in the past, but that
9 certainly isn't to say that if they so desire they
10 could not do that. In fact, while I was there, I'm
11 thinking of two cases in particular, while I was there
12 in the winter of '74, '75, two women who had, in fact,
13 not been on the trapline, went to the bush for two
14 and a half months. My point being --

15 THE COMMISSIONER: On their
16 own?

17 A No, with their husbands.

18 Q Oh.

19 A And one of the families
20 had two children, I believe, as well. My point is, it's
21 not for me to say what their preferences are.

22 MR. STEEVES: No, no.

23 A No, you asked me whether
24 or not I thought that they were suited, that they
25 would like to do that.

26 Q Yes.

27 A And I'm saying, perhaps
28 some wouldn't, perhaps some would, but certainly I
29 think the knowledge needed in order to do that still
30 exists in the Mackenzie and based upon my experience

at Bear Lake, I saw two women, who perhaps you would imply were not suited for the bush, engage in those activities. I mean, I'm not telling them to go to the bush, but I think equally, or I think equally I shouldn't tell them you're not suited for the bush, let's move in this direction.

Q Has the educational system that the young people in the north have been exposed to train the young ladies from the native and Inuit communities for trapping.

A Okay, the western educational system in fact, has not, except recently where at Bear Lake some men have been hired during the last years to take children out into the bush for a couple of weeks. But certainly I think the kinds of information that parents, mothers and fathers pass on to their children, does provide the means for those children to go to the bush.

Q Has the educational system to which these young --

A Which education system?

Q Pardon?

A Which educational system?

Q I'm talking about the educational system, the school system in the Northwest Territories.

A O.K.

Q Has the school system in the Northwest Territories tended to perpetuate that role for women in native society, or has it tended

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 to destroy it?

2 A I don't know about
3 destroy it, but it certainly hasn't perpetuated or
4 attempted to perpetuate; the western school system of
5 course, was imposed and had no intention of preparing
6 children to work in the bush. However, the educational
7 system which is traditional at Bear Lake, learning from
8 close kinsmen, learning from mothers and fathers, does
9 in fact provide children with a means for attending
10 the bush. I recall a story, I took a photograph of
11 some young girls watching a woman tan a moose-hide,
12 for example, and took it to show to a couple of the
13 old-timers at Bear Lake, and they said, "You know,
14 that's the way we learned. We don't have to talk
15 a lot. We don't have to go to schools. We just have
16 to sit and watch. We don't even have to ask questions."
17 He said, "Those girls are really doing good."

18 As far as I'm concerned, that's
19 an educational system, teaching traditional pursuits
20 to the children. Of course you're right that the school
21 system has not perpetuated life in the bush.

22 Q As a result, has the
23 role of women in the family life changed from what it
24 was under the traditional institutions of family life?

25 A To some extent, women
26 do different things now than they did in the past.
27 Other aspects of the traditional roles of women, of
28 course, have been maintained.

29 Q And we're not going to
30 surely dispute that the role of women has changed to

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 a substantial extent as a result, hasn't it?

2 A The role of women has
3 changed, yes.

4 Q O.K. What do you know
5 about marriage arrangements? Are they as common as
6 they were under traditional institutions of family
7 life?

8 A As common, you're asking
9 for a statistical statement. I can say this, that
10 arranged marriages still play a part in their lives.

11 Q I'd like to turn now to
12 the political system, the political institutions, and
13 discuss with you, Mr. Rushforth, traditional political
14 institutions and institutions as they are today within
15 the Native Brotherhood, the Metis Brotherhood, and
16 the Inuit. Pardon me, do you want to discuss
17 something?

18 A No.

19 Q Have there been substantial
20 changes in that area?

21 A Again, I would say that
22 traditional forms of leadership, traditional forms of
23 "political decision-making" still exist at Bear Lake
24 and play a very substantial role in their daily lives.
25 Of course, the Indian Brotherhood did not exist 200
26 years ago, ergo there have been changes. But nonetheless
27 the forms of leadership and decision-making which
28 existed, in my opinion, based upon my ethnographic field
29 work, which existed in Bear Lake in the past continues
30 to exist nowadays.

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 Q Do you have any opinion
2 about any place other than Bear Lake?

3 A Although I haven't spent
4 much time in other places, I have gone through the
5 literature, based upon June Helm's work, for example,
6 concerning leadership. I find what she has to say re-
7 garding the groups with which she's worked to be
8 accurate for the Bear Lake people, as well.

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Asch, Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

Q You do have an opinion
about other areas?

A Oh, you mean in terms of
their persistence?

Q Yes.

A No, I don't -- I think it
would be my own opinion as opposed to a judged opinion.

Q As opposed to what?

A I have no motivation in
other words, or no justification for talking about
political decision making among the Fort Wrigley people.
If I had to make an educated guess, I would say, yes, in
fact, that I would hypothesize those kinds of decision
making, those kinds of leadership still exist elsewhere.

Q An important element in
the traditional political institutions of the people
here was that the elders were the leaders by and large,
isn't that correct?

A Yes.

Q All right. Do you know
Mr. Antoine?

A I have met him.

Q From Fort Simpson. How
old is he?

A He is a young man.

Q Do you know of Mr. James
Wah-Shee?

A No, I don't think I have
ever met him.

Q Do you know how old he is?

Aash, Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 A He is thirty.

2 Q Do you know Mr. Erasmus?

3 A No, I don't believe I

4 have met him.

5 Q Do you know how old he is?

6 A Again, I presume --

7 Q He is about Mr. Wah-Shee's

8 age.

9 A Mr. Wah-Shee's age.

10 Q Yes. Do you know Mr.

11 Barnaby? Do you know Mr. Rick Hardy?

12 A Okay, Can I -- I see the
13 point you are making there. Can I talk a little about
14 leadership and the way decisions were made at Bear Lake
15 in the past? Okay I'm going to --

16 Q Would you speak to the
17 point that you see I am making, will you?

18 A Well, the pan Indian
19 organizations that young people are in fact in leadership
20 positions.

21 THE COMMISSIONER: Okay, doesn't
22 it go further than that? You say that -- Mr. Steeves
23 makes the point that is apparent to us all that youthful
24 leaders have emerged in the Indian Brotherhood and
25 the Metis Association. The tendency that you can see
26 in the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada as well and now, you said
27 pan Indian organizations, that is a tendency that you
28 see in the election of chiefs -- the chief at Fort Norman
29 is in his early twenties. The chief at Fort Simpson
30 is in his mid-twenties. The chief at Fort Smith was here.

Asch, Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 We can't be more than 21 or 22 and so it goes. So,
2 certainly address yourself to the pan Indian thing but
3 address yourself to the local village or band leadership
4 situation as well. I'd be interested to hear what you
5 have to say about that.

6 A Yes, okay. What I was
7 lengthy
8 going to say might be a digression and I'm not sure
9 whether or not it would be worthwhile. If there are
10 other questions --

11 Q No, no. I want to hear
12 what you have to say and I'm in charge here. Appearances
13 to the contrary.

14 MR. BELL: It is getting close
15 to lunchtime, sir.

16 THE COMMISSIONER: What time
17 is it?

18 A Okay, do you want me just
19 to say a few things real briefly then?

20 Q All right.

21 A Okay, traditionally, it
22 is, in fact, the case that elders were leaders. They
23 were revered for the knowledge they possessed, but
24 in addition two kinds of people in fact came to
25 dominate decision making, political or otherwise --
26 subsistence decisions. I think this, in general is
27 true of all of the Mackenzie as well as the Bear Lake
28 people.

29 The good hunter and good
30 medicine men. Okay, it is not at all clear to me that
either one of those criterion necessitates tremendous age.

Arch, Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves
you see

Okay, do the point I

am making? In other words, elders were not the only
leaders. People who could -- well, one of the words
for leader at Bear Lake in fact was "he who provides
caribou". Okay, in other words, the people that could
effectively provide for their people became the leaders.
I would be willing to carry an analogy out now that
those people that perhaps are best qualified to cope
with the imposed white institutions are becoming
leaders now.

Q And they speak English?

A Yes, absolutely.

Q Which relates

to the point I made earlier.

Well, excuse me a moment
Mr. Rushforth. Excuse me, Mr. Steeves, what time is it?

MR. SCOTT: It is twenty to one,
sir.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, let's
adjourn for lunch and come back at two.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO 2 P.M.)

Asch, Rushforth

Crosby, Beam, By Steeves

1 (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

2 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Steeves, are
3 you ready?

4 MR. STEEVES: Yes sir.

5 Before lunch, gentlemen, we
6 were -- I think you, sir, Mr. Rushforth, were explaining
7 to the Inquiry your understanding of what has happened
8 to the traditional institution in the political area,
9 and in particular, the place of elders in the exercise
10 of political control and I think it was at that point
11 we adjourned.

12 I want to turn now, if I could
13 Mr. Rushforth to the consensus idea. Now, is it your
14 evidence that the consensus aspect of the traditional
15 institution of political life is still in existence and
16 still very much alive?

17 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: Yes, I
18 think so at Bear Lake.

19 Q Do you know about what
20 is called the Wah-Shee law suit?

21 A Yes. Could I sort of
22 put this all in a context? I think --

23 Q All what?

24 A All of the line of questioning
25 and my answers which I think should be -- I should say
26 something about the answers.

27 Q Well, do you want to
28 argue?

29 A No, I just want to explain
30 the things that I've been saying.

1 Q Oh, all right.

2 A See, I don't want to be
3 in the position and I don't think this is the position,
4 or that it's accurate that no changes have occurred in
5 the north. In fact, changes have occurred. The Dene
6 have incorporated a certain number of western institutions,
7 western values. The issue that I'm trying to get across
8 and I think -- or perhaps came across, is defending
9 a position that no changes have occurred. Well, I
10 don't want to defend that position because it's not
11 true.

12 The position I want to defend
13 is, that although the Dene have incorporated certain
14 western institutions, beliefs and values, that there
15 is an underlying core which I saw clearly at Bear Lake,
16 of traditional beliefs, values and systems of knowledge
17 which still persist and which very much influence their
18 way of life today.

19 Q Well, isn't it -- I beg
20 your pardon.

21 A Okay, even those western
22 institutions, those western values which have been
23 incorporated are, in fact, modified to some extent to
24 fit the traditional system. Dr. Asch talked about the
25 way in which wages obtained through wage labour for
26 example, is converted to food and shared through traditional
27 means.

28 So, that's the point I want
29 to get across and I don't want to say that no changes
30 have occurred.

1 However, I do reject the idea
2 that simply because the Dene have accepted -- have
3 adopted certain western beliefs, certain western values,
4 that it necessarily follows that they have rejected
5 traditional cultural values, traditional institutions,
6 that is wrong.

7 Q Have you anything more
8 to say?

9 A No.

Q Well, as I understand it,
if I can sum up your summing up. What you were telling
us is that the old ways and the old institutions, the
traditional ways and the traditional institutions are
very much alive and they're a very powerful factor
in the life of the native people of the north right
now. Is that what you're saying?

17 A Yes, I think that's true.

13 Q Okay. Then, why are you
19 afraid of the pipeline?

20 A What do you mean by that?

21 I mean, I'm not afraid of the pipeline.

22 Q How does the pipeline
23 represent a threat to the people if their old ways have
24 survived through everything that's been done to these
25 people over the last hundred years?

26 A Well, I think the things
27 that Dr. Asch has said are perhaps true. He raises
28 serious doubts concerning the kinds of wage labour oppor-
29 tunities that the pipeline will provide. In terms of
30 giving up long-term control over their own lives in the

1 place of short-term dependency or short-term economic
2 gain.

3 I think that a system of wage
4 labour, if we're going to talk about wage labour, could
5 be thought up which would be much more compatible with
6 traditional systems.

7 Q Well, is all wage employment
8 in the southern sense, bad?

9 A No, I wouldn't want
10 to say that.

11 Q Well, what kind of wage
12 employment is bad?

13 A Well, this is not my area
14 of expertise, but I have some speculation. I would
15 suggest that --

16 Q Well, be brief.

17 A Okay, I will.

18 I think that the kinds of
19 wage labour which remove individuals far from the communities
20 from their local groups is perhaps not as good as the
21 kind of wage employment which would enable men to
22 maintain ties with their families, with their kinsmen
23 in local groups. I think that certain other things --
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Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 Q I beg your pardon. I'm
2 sorry for interrupting you but I'm sorry. I think I
3 lost the train. I understood you to say -- and I
4 may be over-generalizing -- I understood you to say
5 that the kind of wage employment that will come with
6 the pipeline is, in terms of good or bad if you can
7 express it that way, bad wage employment. Is that what
8 you are saying?

9 A Well I think -- I mean
10 there are some ultimate issues involved here. I think
11 first of all that if --

12 Q When I "bad" I think that
13 maybe we can agree that the benefits from it are not
14 outweighed by the costs. Does that sound fair?

15 A No, I think this is some-
16 thing that has to be decided by the Dene themselves.
17 I think only they can ultimately assess or determine
18 what sort of development, what sort of opportunities for
19 obtaining cash that they want.

20 Q Well tell me. Tell me
21 something concrete --

22 A It's not my role. Can't
23 you see that? I mean -- I think my role as an anthrop-
24 ologist here is to describe what I saw at Bear Lake and
25 what I saw was a group of people that still derive
26 significant income from their traditional way of life
27 where cultural values still persist, and in addition
28 I would suggest that a number of the changes which have
29 occurred among the Dene have been the result of the
30 intrusion of white institutions.

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 MR. BELL: I should say that
2 we will be calling a panel which will deal ^{with} /the questions
3 of alternatives in the economic field.

4 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes. Well,
5 I understand that Mr. Bell. Let me just give you my
6 impression of the function of witnesses such as Dr.
7 Asch and Mr. Rushforth.

8 This Inquiry is supposed to
9 report to the government on the social, environmental
10 and economic impact of the pipeline within the context
11 of the notion of an energy corridor. If we're going
12 to understand the impact, we have to understand the
13 kind of economy or economies that exist here now,
14 the kind of society that exists here now, something
15 about the motivation of the people, the aspirations
16 of the people. Now, you Mr. Rushforth in your testimony
17 presented about reliance on the bush economy by the
18 Bear Lake people were of very great assistance to the
19 Inquiry.

20 Mr. Steeves has said to you,
21 If these traditional values are thriving today,
22 notwithstanding what those that are what we sought
23 to do by denigrating their values through our educational
24 system and in various other ways, -- if notwithstanding
25 all of that, these values are still thriving today.
26 then why worry about the impact of a pipeline in terms
27 of the damage it might do to those values.

28 If the values have survived
29 so far, they'll surely survive the pipeline. Now,
30 that's a terribly simplistic way of putting it and I

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 'think I should say that I'm not fantastically interested
2 in your response, because it seems to me at this
3 point we leave your special competence and enter into
4 an area where everybody in this room probably has an
5 opinion on the subject that they wouldn't mind expressing.

6 But I've only intervened Mr.
7 Steeves, so that you'll all understand my attitude toward
8 this. You invited Mr. Rushforth to speculate.

9 I've heard from hundreds of
10 native people explaining why they fear a pipeline.
11 I have to take that evidence into account along with
12 the evidence of Arctic Gas about what their pipeline
13 really is.

14 But, carry on you two. I'm
15 not sure this is getting me very far.

16 MR. STEEVES: I have a few
17 questions to ask Dr. Asch sir. That is, Dr. Asch,
18 have you had an opportunity of looking at the tables
19 prepared by Dr. Hobart about age and race distribution
20 and the population of the communities of the valley?

21 WITNESS ASCH: I've glanced
22 at it, but I can't say that off the top of my head I
23 could remember the details.

24 Q Yes. Well do you agree
25 with me that there's a very substantial number of young
26 people now in the school system that are on the verge
27 of entering into the labor market?

28 A Well I agree that there
29 are a number of young people in the school system.

30 Q I see. You will quarrel

Asch & Bishforth
Crown Exam by Steever

1 'with my statement that they will all enter into the
2 labor market?

3 A Well, yes. I mean, that's
4 an assumption. I mean, I know they're in school. I
5 don't know what they're going to do afterwards necessarily.
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Asch & Rushforth
 Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 Q From your knowledge of
 2 the north, is there any gainful activity on which they
 3 can survive and build families available to them at
 4 this time?

5 A Well, I would say that
 6 in many respects there is difficulty in the cash sector
 7 of the economy, there is no doubt about that.

8 Q And those young people
 9 will need the cash economy.

10 A Oh yes.

11 Q Or the dual economy in
 12 order to survive and build families.

13 A Yes, I would not disagree
 14 with that. Well, provided that they decide to do it.
 15 But in any case, I do not agree with that general
 16 assertion. There is certainly need for cash as well
 17 as for bush subsistence and I think we all agree
 18 on that point.

19 Q Have you any -- and I
 20 ask this quite seriously -- what are the alternatives
 21 for those young people other than some sort of wage
 22 oriented activity? Can you help me on that?

23 A No., I'm sure that
 24 there will be people who will be discussing it in
 25 much more detail than myself. I also would suggest
 26 that it is clear that the land settlement in itself,
 27 or the land claim in itself, offers in some respects
 28 at least in some of the proposals -- the proposal
 29 that I've seen from the Inuit, I do not want to
 30 comment on anything else -- alternative means of

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 obtaining cash into that economy. I'm not saying
2 that that's the way the Dene would do it or that they
3 wouldn't do it, but it doesn't seem to me that wage
4 employment is the only means of articulating or
5 inter-relating with the cash economy.

6 Q Well, can you give me
7 any specific examples, not revealing any secret
8 information --

9 A I don't have any secret
10 information. Excuse me, let me just say that I don't
11 have any secret information so I can't have any to
12 reveal.

13 Q O.K., well then tell us,
14 please, could you specify what sort of alternatives
15 that would make sense to you?

16 A Well, yes. I think that
17 I'd have to put it in rather vague terms, unfortunately
18 because I think first of all that --

19 Q I'm sorry, I'm not
20 suggesting that your answer would be valueless, but
21 what I'm after is specific examples, and you can't
22 give me any?

23 A Specific examples of
24 alternatives?

25 Q A certain kind of economic
26 activity as an alternative.

27 A As it exists today or
28 after a land claim?

29 Q Well, let's take as it
30 is today.

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 A Well, as it exists
2 today, I think there would be a heck of a lot of
3 trouble. I think that's one of the problems that is
4 trying to be resolved with the land claim.

5 Q Now, finally Dr. Asch,
6 I understand you to say that the major criticism you
7 have of the wage economy, so far as the native people
8 of the north are concerned, is that it's the wrong
9 people get the jobs,

10 A That is one criticism
11 that I make. It is not the only one.

12 Q No, and another criticism
13 you have is that the people who get the jobs waste
14 the fruits of their labor. Is that fair?

15 A Well, O.K., I do suggest
16 that in the case of Wrigley and my experience in
17 Wrigley that not all wage employment but wage employ-
18 ment especially generated from the kind of activities
19 that these men were engaged in has been spent poorly,
20 yes.

21 Q Well, anything you've
22 said about wage employment and its negative effects,
23 you want us to understand it to be limited to Fort
24 Wrigley; am I correct in that?

25 A No, what I want to
26 suggest to you is that I was deeply concerned that the
27 studies that I saw did not indeed mention what I
28 assumed to be a very common problem in the north
29 indeed my discussions with others have suggested that
30 my impressions at Fort Wrigley are not unique to Fort

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 ' Wrigley. Now, I do not have the facilities or the
2 time to go and do these investigations in every
3 community, and I don't think that therefore my state-
4 ments are necessarily invalid,I put it to you that I
5 would have expected that your studies would have
6 brought some problems. I think everybody recognizes
7 the problems into their reports.

8 Q Well, I'm sorry. We're
9 not to take it to be applicable to the whole of the
10 region or not? What is your answer?

11 A Well, the answer that I
12 have is I think what I gave you. I don't know how
13 much more I can say on the subject.

14 Q Well, I understand you
15 to say that what's wrong with wage employment, one of
16 the major things that's wrong with it is that it's
17 young men and single men that earn the wages, and that
18 they waste the money by drunken parties and other
19 socially useless activities.

20 A I'd say that's true at
21 Fort Wrigley.

22 Q Now do you say that's
23 true about all the young men who earn wage employment
24 all through the region?

25 A No.

26 Q Thanks very much.

27 A Is that all you want
28 to ask me, anything^{else}/, because that isn't the only
29 problem with wage employment.

30 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, tell me

Asch & Rushforth
C ross-Exam by Steeves

1 what the other problems are.

2 A Well, actually I just
3 wanted to mention one thing, because I have a lot in
4 my testimony. It seems to me another crucial issue
5 which hasn't really been raised here, and I hope
6 will be, and it concerns the fact that if you read
7 the Arctic Gas statement -- and I'm not sure how
8 much validity it will have as the proceedings go on --
9 there is an intimation made there that by 1984, I
10 believe, 61% of all of the available -- 61% of the
11 young men could be involved in activities related
12 either directly or indirectly or through oil and gas
13 exploration in one industry.

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1 Now, I think that that's an
2 awfully serious problem. Indeed, given the fact that
3 I believe it's Mr. Horte said that there is at least
4 15 years, maybe there's at most 15 years before there
5 are alternate sources of oil and gas or before there's
6 alternate sources of energy or before gas prices go
7 down or something, that you're putting an awful lot
8 of eggs in a single basket with this form of wage employ-
9 ment.

10 Q Yes, I think that Mr.
11 Horte would say to you in reply, well, what have you
12 got to offer? This is the --

13 A And my answer would be
14 that I think it's up to the Dene people to do it.

15 Q Yes, I know. I know, but
16 -- and many of the Dene would say, well, we feel we
17 can think of something that'll work out a little better.

18 A Well, I think there's
19 going to be evidence led on that subject.

20 THE COMMISSIONER: Right, well
21 that's your cross-examination.

22 MR. STEEVES: That was my one
23 question.

24 MR. SCOTT: Mrs. MacQuarrie?
25 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MRS. MacQUARRIE:

26 Q Dr. Asch, my one question
27 consists of the following. This morning you mentioned
28 that the dominant --

29 WITNESS ASCH: Would you just
30 get a little closer, I'm sorry, and one day I'll tell

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 you why I have problem hearing.

2 Q Would you like to tell
3 us now?

4 A No, because I'm afraid
5 that I won't be able to defend it in a Court of law,
6 however it has to do with an unnamed airline.

7 Q Oh. This morning you
8 mentioned that the dominant western culture should
9 ensure that native culture is preserved.

10 A Did I say that in those
11 words? I'll accept it if I did, I thought that was
12 what you said.

13 THE COMMISSIONER: I think it
14 was what Mr. Rushforth said.

15 A In any case, I'll accept
16 it, I'll accept it to see where we're going okay?

17 MRS. MacQUARRIE: It was said
18 this morning that --

19 A Fair enough, fair enough.

20 Q -- it seems that perhaps
21 the only people who are capable of preserving a culture
22 or certain elements of it are the people who's culture
23 it is. Would you comment on that please?

24 A Well, yes. I agree that
25 that's true, but on the other hand if you point a gun
26 at a person and really force them in a certain direction,
27 there's only a limited number of options that they
28 can have in order to indeed respond under those conditions
29 and given that we are pretty powerful, vis-a-vis them,
30

1 I think that we do have a responsibility of our own here,
2 but I do think, of course, the primary responsibility
3 has got to be the people themselves, yes.

4 Q Actually, if you use the
5 description that you just gave of pointing a gun at some-
6 one, you still may have reduced that persons choices
7 but you have left him with a range of choices to make
8 on his own and that responsibility, in fact, lies with
9 him. Do you agree?

10 A The choice of being
11 robbed or being killed lies with him, yes. True.

12 Q Okay. And he assumes
13 the responsibility for his own decision in that case?

14 A Well, if he doesn't give
15 them money, he commits suicide and therefore I don't
16 know -- obviously given those conditions, it is very
17 important that the person who's holding the gun really
18 is controlling the options. There are no good options.

19 Q But the ultimate choice
20 is left as the responsibility of the individual under
21 fire. Say yes.

22 A I don't know how to
23 answer that question. Yes. The ultimate choice as
24 to whether to be killed or to be robbed is left to
25 the individual, yes, right.

26 Q Okay. Then, later, and
27 there's a discussion about the school system or the
28 educational system in the Northwest Territories. There
29 was some discussion as to the validity of the type of
30 education that is being imposed on the people. Is it

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 the responsibility of the school system, in your view,
2 to teach land skills, or does that traditional respons-
3 ibility lie with the family?

4 A Well, that responsibility
5 along with a lot of others lies with the family, for
6 sure. But, of course, if the family and the local
7 people should control the school systems, in which
8 case I don't think you'd have the same kind of problem.

9 Q There is a trend in the
10 Northwest Territories in that direction, in that the
11 Department of Education is attempting to form local
12 school boards.

13 A Yes, I'm aware of that
14 slightly. Not too much detail on it. It certainly
15 isn't the case in Wrigley.

16 Q Okay.

17 MRS. MacQUARRIE: Those are
18 all the questions I have, thank you.

19 A Okay.

20 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Lutes.

21 MR. LUTES: No questions.

22 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. SCOTT:

23 Q Dr. Asch, I'd like to take
24 you to one or two particular places in your evidence
25 if I may. The first, -- that is your original, your
26 first, your primary submission.

27 WITNESS ASCH: Yes sir, I have
28 it.

29 Q Page number seven.

30 A Page number seven, right.

1 Q And in the first paragraph
2 at the bottom, you say, "at these times, they would
3 join with other local groups lucky enough to be enjoying
4 a surplus, hence, the principle of co-operation"--

5 A Stop, stop, stop. We're
6 on page seven.

7 Q Yes.

8 A The first paragraph reads,
9 "to summarize then".

10 Q Yes. Down at the bottom
11 of that , the last two sentences.

12 A "As a result, none of
13 the disruptions"-- yes, "the region was apparently
14 considered too remote".

15 Q The last two sentences of
16 that paragraph?

17 A Oh, sorry, yes. I got it.

18 Q All right, and you say,
19 "at these times they would join with other local groups
20 lucky enough to be enjoying a surplus."

21 A Yes.

22 Q "Hence, the principle of
23 co-operation and mutual sharing found within local
24 groups was extended to all the people of the region."

25 Well now, is the principle of
26 co-operation that you're referring there, related to the
27 -- to what you, in other places, have called the principle
28 of kinship obligation, or is it something different?

29 A No, I think kinship obliga-
30 tion would probably characterize it fairly reasonably.

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

Q Yes. So, this kinship
obligation that you're talking about, extends beyond
any concept of family to all the people living in a
given area?

Asch, Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 A Except for the present
2 tense, yes, it did. I don't know about today.

3 Q All right. Well now,
4 on page 27 then you don't have to turn to it because
5 I'm just going to make an oblique reference to it.
6 You talk about the co-operative in Fort Wrigley. I
7 take it that that's an example of a co-operative
8 venture?

9 A Yes.

10 Q Yes. Now, do co-operative
11 ventures of that type involve the same social functions
12 that you describe and the same social characteristics
13 as you've described under the heading "principle of
14 co-operation"?

15 A In general, I would say
16 that they are very similar, yes. Indeed, I think the
17 co-op is a very good example of the continuity of
18 on-going values in new institutional forms.

19 Q Well is it your proposition
20 for example that the establishment of any co-operative
21 venture in any given community such as a saw mill or a
22 housing co-op or any business venture is going to
23 induce the sense of co-operation and mutual sharing
24 that you've described on page number seven?

25 A No.

26 Q Well then what is the
27 connection between the two?

28 A Well, I think the essential
29 -- the first essential thing is that the native people
30 control the organization of the co-op. You did not say

Asch, Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 that as one of the specifications. As well, I think
2 that it would be rather difficult to form community-
3 wide co-ops in very large settlements such as Yellow-
4 knife. I don't know if it's being done, but it would
5 be more difficult.

6 Then I think, also, the fact
7 that the local people control the board of directors
8 and control the operation of it gives them a way of
9 allowing for kinship obligations. O.K.?

10 Q Yes.

11 A I do think that there
12 are certain problems with the form of the co-op that
13 if the Dene people themselves had an opportunity to
14 -- how should I put it? -- create from whole cloth
15 the concept of a co-op, they would probably overcome.

16 Q Well, is it your pro-
17 position that native control of an enterprise is going
18 to exhibit or revive the sense of co-operation across
19 the entire group?

20 A Across the entire -- let
21 me take it one by one. Is it going to engender a sense
22 of co-operation --

23 Q Yes.

24 A -- I am not sure that
25 merely having a native entrepreneur for example would
26 engender traditional forms of co-operation. So if
27 we're talking about a co-op and the kind of board of
28 directors that I am talking about, I would think that
29 there is much more of a possibility, yes. As for the
30 extension beyond the region -- into the whole region,

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 I'm not sure. I don't know how far it would extend.
2 I think that would be the question to answer.

3 Q So can we say this, that
4 if this sense of co-operation is fundamental or is
5 critical to the -- what shall I call it -- the native
6 way -- and I take it that you think it is?

7 A Yes.

8 Q Yes. Mere native
9 entrepreneurial abilities are really unrelated to the
10 development of that co-operation?

11 A Well, I think entrepreneurial
12 ownership is unrelated abilities -- to organize things
13 I think, is related.

14 Q Yes. So that when you
15 talk about, for example, native control of the economy,
16 I take it you're not thinking at all of a parallel to
17 white control of the white economy which is entrepreneurial?

18 A Yes and no. Yes, in the
19 sense that I anticipate that they will not go in that
20 direction. No, in the sense that if they do go in that
21 direction, it's their perfect right to do so.

22 Q Yes, but what I am suggesting
23 to you is that if they do go in that direction, -- if
24 natives in control of their destiny adopt an entrepreneurial
25 approach, the essential characteristic upon which the
26 survival of their values in part depends i.e., a spirit
27 of co-operation and kinship will be absent?

28 A Yes, I would think so.

29 Q So that what is really
30 required if this spirit of co-operation is to be

4 A I think, and I would like
5 to have the proviso that I think it's something that
6 I ought to think about much more carefully so that I
7 will answer it to you right now. That I think there
8 was, I would say, an attenuation of kinship ties at
9 that, really around that time, but it appears to me that
10 recently, they've been restructured around other things
11 like the co-op. O.K. so that in that sense, the nuclear
12 family had an effect, but then it has been sort of shifted
13 around later. Is that reasonable for you?

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5 to have the proviso that I think it's something that
6 I ought to think about much more carefully so that I
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8 was, I would say, an attenuation of kinship ties at
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10 recently, they've been restructured around other things
11 like the co-op. O.K. so that in that sense, the nuclear
12 family had an effect, but then it has been sort of shifted
13 around later. Is that reasonable for you?

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 Q Well, I don't care
2 whether it's reasonable.

3 A No, but do you want --

4 Q Do I understand from
5 that that the sense of kinship that you've earlier
6 described in your paper --

7 A Yes.

8 Q -- that is kinship and
9 co-operation across a group or a large community --

10 A Yes.

11 Q -- no longer existed or
12 existed in very modified form.

13 A Well, it existed in
14 modified form, very modified form I don't know, but I
15 think somewhere in here and I wish I could cite the
16 line for you, I do suggest that the bush subsistence
17 sector of the economy still maintains those kind of
18 things. Now, I think this sentence, I will not argue
19 that there has been a change from the local group
20 out in the bush to smaller units of primary ^{economic} co-operation
21 after 1960. O.K., which is I think what you want to
22 get at.

23 Q All right. Well now, let
24 me ask you this. That's one of the reasons, as I
25 understand it (I won't assign it primary or secondary
26 importance) but one of the reasons that this occurred,
27 as I understand you, is -- was the forced, I think this
28 the way you mean "coercive", was the forced reliance
29 on the welfare system that was dictated by economic
30 conditions.

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 A Yes, and I would add
2 the method by which welfare payments and family
3 allowance payments and old age pension payments were
4 given to these people.

5 Q Yes, going to one person
6 in a household or community, rather than to the family
7 or the community.

8 A Yes.

9 Q So that it was the welfare
10 system looked at in those two ways which, if I understand
11 you correctly, was first important because it saved
12 people from destitution --

13 A Yes.

14 Q -- but was secondly
15 destructive because it cut across traditional kinship
16 obligations.

17 A Yes.

18 Q Have I got what you're
19 trying to tell us?

20 A Yes. I would say more
21 general reciprocity and kinship obligations. O.K.,
22 they're both part of the same thing, it's just easier
23 to talk about reciprocity, but I would agree.

24 Q Well, I take it that you
25 don't suggest that if the welfare system were removed
26 this kinship obligation would restore itself in such a
27 fashion that the people would face anything but des-
28 titution.

29 A If I get your drift, you're
30 saying that welfare payments are still necessary?

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 Q They're not only still
2 necessary to prevent destitution, which we're agreed
3 on that --

4 A Yes.

5 Q -- but I take it that
6 their removal would not at this stage restore a
7 kinship system which they destroyed.

8 A Well, I would agree with
9 that assertion.

10 Q All right.

11 A They would not necessarily.
12 I don't know whether they would not, but certainly
13 the absence of the need for cash would certainly not
14 create, in my opinion, new kinship obligations.
15 I don't know, maybe they would. You know, it would be
16 a very interesting thing if that did happen. I don't
17 know, it could either devolve to the war against
18 all, or it could devolve to some co-operative thing.
19 I don't know.

20 Q Well, this is a more
21 general test question I'd like to ask you. Where I
22 come from in the south, welfare payments are frequently
23 denounced as being destructive of a sense of individual
24 responsibility.

25 THE COMMISSIONER: Where do
26 you come from? Where do they say these things?

27 MR. SCOTT: I come from --
28 let me put it this way, my lord, I come from Toronto
29 and in Toronto there is -- and I suspect perhaps in
30 British Columbia and other remoter areas -- there

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 is a developing sense, the critics of the welfare
2 system in those parts of the country say that the
3 thing that's wrong about it is that it's destructive
4 of a sense of individual responsibility.

5 A Which critics?

6 Q The critics --

7 A The welfare
8 recipients?

9 Q Oh no, not welfare
10 recipients.

11 A Well, sir, you mean the
12 people who have money don't want to give money away.

13 Q No, not at all. I hope
14 you won't be so cynical as that, but it is generally
15 thought by critics of the welfare system (and you're
16 a critic of the welfare system in the north) --

17 A Yes.

18 Q -- your colleagues in
19 the south --

20 A Wait.

21 Q All right, all right.

22 Those who advance the same general proposition as
23 you do in the south say that the welfare system is
24 destructive of individual responsibility. You say --
25 and I'm quoting your words that in the north quite to
26 the contrary:

27 "It has forced acceptance of the value of
28 individual responsibility."

29 A Yep.

30 Q Well, isn't there a kind

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

of conflict there ?

2 A No.

3 Q Well then you'd better
4 explain it to me.

5 A Well, I think in the
6 beginning of my testimony I say that there's a
7 difference between separating poor people from native
8 people and so I think that that's a factor and you
9 know, that's shorthand for that whole thing. They're
10 obviously culturally different. I think as well I
11 would not agree with those critics who you almost
12 called my colleagues in the south, and I don't know,
13 I couldn't think off the top of my head of a great
14 method of -- a great way of rejoindering them, but I
15 do not agree that this is the main problem of welfare,
16 that it destroys individual responsibility.

17 Q All right, can I put it
18 to you this way, that you've agreed that the introduction
19 of welfare payments and the way they are paid and
20 all that that entails --

21 A Yes.

22 Q -- has damaged (we won't
23 say "destroyed") but has damaged the kinship and
24 community obligations.

25 A Yes.

26 Q And has attempted,
27 and perhaps successfully, to replace it with a kind of
28 individual reliance.

29 A Yes, now --

30 Q People look to their

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 interest rather than the interests of the group.

2 A Yes, I do think that there
3 is that force present in the way that welfare paym ents
4 -- you see, I don't think we should concentrate on
5 welfare payments, so if we could say "transfer pay-
6 ments" --

7 Q All right.

8 A -- are being administered.

9 THE COMMISSIONER: Family
10 allowance, old age pension, and welfare.

11 A Yes.

12 MR. SCOTT: Q But my general
13 statement to you, you would accept?

14 A Yes.

15 Q Yes, all right, and I
16 take it that gone with it is not only the sense of
17 sharing in the sense of sharing surpluses --

18 A "Gone, gone with it"?

19 Q Well, disappearing,
20 damaged, modified.

21 A That's a heck of a lot
22 of difference between those verbs.

23 Q All right. Now damaged
24 with it is not only the sense of sharing, by which I
25 mean the sense of sharing surpluses.

26 A Yes.

27 Q Because that's relatively
28 easy, perhaps. After a hunt if there's a surplus
29 it's easy to --

30 A Whoa, wait a second.

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 Surplus is very easy to share. I'm not -- surplus, if
2 you look at it from an individual --

3 Q Well, you'll have to
4 listen to the whole of my question.

5 A O.K., I'm sorry, I
6 will let you.

7 Q All right. Damaged with
8 it is not only the sense of sharing in the sense of
9 sharing surpluses, but damaged equally is the sense
10 of obligation in which people give up what they
11 need for others.

12 A Yes.

13 Q And I suggest to you
14 that it is -- it is something to be hoped, ^{but} it is in
15 the realm of absolute unpredictability to determine
16 whether that system can ever be restored.

17 A I disagree.

18 Q You disagree. You're
19 confident that it can be restored, is that what you're
20 telling me?

21 A I am confident that if
22 given what we have already apparently have commonly
23 agreed about the ongoing institutions, values, etc. etc.
24 that if the Dene people wish to reorganize themselves
25 along traditional lines, that given the mere change
26 of transfer payment system would in fact help that, and
27 would therefore be a big inducement for people to go
28 back -- I don't mean go back, but rather revivify that
29 one particular aspect of the sharing economy which has
30 been destroyed. I don't think that it's too late, too

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 early, this that or the other thing. I think rather
2 that the framework is there and it would not take
3 much to coerce -- to stop coercion.

4 Q O.K., now at this point
5 I think I understand something about the damage that
6 has been done and about your view of the possibility
7 of restoring the damage, and that possibility depends
8 on native control, not merely entrepreneurial control
9 but native community control of enterprises, ventures,
10 and community social and cultural life.

11 A And we forgot political.

12 Q All right, and political
13 life. Well now, let me ask you this: Is it possible
14 to have both local group control over economic,
15 political and social structures, and massive development?

16 A Is it possible? Well
17 I'm going to say "No". O.K., and then you can say,
18 "Well, anything's possible." But I'm going to say "No."
19 It is not possible to have -- well wait a second --
20 massive development I'm not sure, but I'll say "No",
21 O.K., and we'll see where we go from there.

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 Q Well, I am not going
2 anywhere from there.

3 A Oh, O.K.

4 Q But I simply -- I simply
5 asked you to recognize what I take to be the con-
6 sequence of that, that if local group control over
7 economic, political and social structures be the
8 desired objective, it would not be likely or possible
9 that any economic development that extended beyond
10 those groups could occur.

11 A Why?

12 Q Well how could you build
13 a pipeline?

14 A Don't ask me how to build
15 a pipeline.

16 Q No, I'm not asking you
17 how you could construct a pipeline. But I am saying
18 that if local group control of economic is critical, and
19 we have been through all that. You agree that it is.
20 You know, if the Dene are given local group control
21 with political machinery and aid and all the rest of it,

22 A Yes.

23 Q Is any development which
24 extends beyond their groups and therefore depends on the
25 views of other groups, conceivable in practical terms?

26 A Well you see, we have
27 left out an important aspect of this thing which is that
28 the local group control is one aspect of what I feel is
29 what the principle of the Dene Declaration is. If you
30 have an entity which can cope in some respects by

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 deciding whether it's in their interests or not and
2 how something will proceed, I do not think that it would
3 be impossible.

4 Q No, I agree that if the
5 Dene, for example, are a Northwest Territories entity --

6 A Yes.

7 Q --it's conceivable, but
8 of course that is not a traditional political structure
9 or a traditional economic structure. That's a brand
10 new one. That's not what we were talking about when
11 we talked about the local group control of ventures in
12 communities.

13 A Yes, but are they mutually
14 exclusive?

15 Q That's what I am asking.

16 A I'm saying that I don't
17 think they are mutually exclusive. I do not understand
18 why it is a difficult proposition to suggest that under
19 the conditions that we all agree have occurred in the
20 past 300 years, there have been certain developments,
21 especially in recent years, in political consciousness
22 and political awareness of themselves which -- then we
23 are only talking about the size of the entity. Can a
24 larger sized entity reflect the values of the Dene?
25 All right and you are putting it to me that it can't.
26 I'm putting it to you that it can.

27 Q Well, what I am suggesting
28 to you is that that is not a traditional group value
29 upon which the kinship or a co-operative system is
30 founded.

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 A But I am saying that --
2 O.K. I am saying that --

3 Q Is that right first of
4 all?

5 A Well yes it is right.
6 Now let me answer it.

7 Q All right.

8 A The point I think is that
9 you can't just stop it there. This is a logical,
10 historical development out of that group control. If
11 you want to go back to 1789, yes. I suppose we could
12 sit here and say, "Wow. Wouldn't it be incredible?"
13 But here we are in 1976 and it doesn't seem to be
14 incredible, and it doesn't seem to me to be as a logical
15 proposition in contradiction to the evolution and the
16 history of the Dene society, given the particular
17 conditions in which Dene society has developed in the
18 past two or three hundred years.

19 Q Well what it means is a
20 kind of federalism for the Dene nation with local
21 control over certain matters and national control over
22 others.

23 A It could.

24 Q Yes, and I'm simply suggest-
25 ing to you. I am not saying there is anything wrong
26 with it. In fact, there may be a lot of good with it.
27 But that's a white man's political structure.

28 A No, I put it to you that
29 I don't know that that's -- why is that ^awhite man's
30 political structure. That is a political structure that

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 has evolved out of the history of the Dene. I do not --
2 first of all, ^I want to object to white, black, green
3 or anything else. That's not a white man's political
4 structure. It certainly is not an aboriginal political
5 structure. We agree on that.

6 Q It has not ever appeared
7 in the case of any aboriginal people.

8 A Oops. I don't know.

9 THE COMMISSIONER: What about
10 the six nations? Do they have a confederacy?

11 A Yes. But there are some
12 that argue that that happened in response to external --

13 Q They got the idea from us?

14 A No, not necessarily from
15 us but -- O.K. I submit Judge Berger's evidence. I
16 am not going to argue with a guy who is supporting me.

17 MR. SCOTT: The only point
18 I am making and I would have thought it was clear.
19 Perhaps it is to me. That it's a kind of false debate
20 if we spend our time talking about reviving local
21 obligations and kinship.

22 A No. Why do you say that's
23 a false debate?

24 Q No, no, no. When really
25 what seems to be developing is something much broader
26 and much more extensive than that.

27 A But they both are -- you
28 talk about it as if they are two totally separate kinds
29 of things. One thing just happens to be a positive
30 response to western civilization I suppose. The other

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 is a traditional Dene value. I am asserting that the
2 one is a rising out of traditional Dene values within
3 a new context. So I put it to you that there's no
4 opposition between the two.

5 Q I see.

6 A Theoretically. There
7 may be -- of course there will be a -- I would antici-
8 pate -- antagonisms between different local groups.
9 Heck, I mean, we don't live all that happily with each
10 other. But that does not mean per se that it is in some
11 sense not a reasonable development of Dene society.

12 THE COMMISSIONER: But why is
13 it -- why is it necessary for someone's purposes -- I
14 don't quite know whose, to demonstrate that it is
15 important that the desire of the Dene for a measure of
16 self-determination in political and social and economic
17 affairs, because that, it seems to me putting it as
18 shortly as one can, is what they have been saying to me
19 for a long time. Why does there have to be something
20 distinctly Dene about it on the one hand, and why on the
21 other hand does it have to be asserted that it is an
22 idea -- a notion that they got from us?

23 It seems to me that there is
24 something to be said for the proposition that you find
25 that any group of people who have a sense that they
26 are distinct seek that measure of self-determination
27 over what is going to happen to them anywhere in the world?

28 You find that phenomenon
29 the world over. There is nothing peculiarly western
30 about it and nothing peculiarly Dene about it. It's a

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 'characteristic of distinct peoples everywhere. I hate
2 to refer to him again, but it appeared to be one of the
3 things Mr. Puxley was saying last week. But let's
4 not go into that. I mean, are you people arguing about
5 something that is going to get us anywhere? That's
6 what I don't know.

7 MR. SCOTT: Well Mr. Commissioner,
8 here is the -- I have a sense that the question is
9 directed at me almost rather than Mr. Asch, but let me
10 put it to Mr. Asch this way. I have no trouble
11 comprehending the desire of any people who regard them-
12 selves for whatever reason as being a nation for self-
13 determination, economically, socially and politically.
14 And if that is the case, I have no trouble with under-
15 standing it.

16 When the case is buttressed
17 by arguments for local, that is, community control
18 of a very pervasive type, I detect either that that
19 support is unnecessary for the self-determination
20 argument or that it runs counter to it.

21 A You are suggesting that I
22 -- You see, supposing that I say, I've already said what
23 my opinion is, and it really does seem to me that we
24 are arguing about two different things here.

25 Q Well, that may be.

26 A That in fact in my
27 evidence, I was trying to respond in that one paragraph
28 that you cited to the distinction between the way that
29 southerners in general employ labor and the way that
30 the Indians in the community of Wrigley employ labor.

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

Now, if we want to move from that to the general proposition I think I have given you my answer. But I do think that I was in fact making -- you know, that I had two kinds of tasks in my testimony that I set for myself. One of them was to show that certain things were not attended to in the applicant's proposal. Another thing was my statement that I feel, and I still do feel, that the best solution is the one that has been proposed by the native people.

Now, I don't -- if you want to take me further on this, I will be happy to go with you but I think --

Q No, if that's your answer, I am content --

A No, I'm finished with that, but I think I have said all I can on this subject.

Q All right. Well now let me turn then to another area and it's going to get me into trouble because I think it is the same area that Mr. Steeves was heading up to. You refer somewhere in your paper to the importance of solving the problem of dependency on external agencies as being a critical question.

A Yes.

Q Now, do you envisage any possible solution given the present or reasonably anticipated future economy of the north without externally initiated development?

A Without externally initiated development in the sense of capital from the

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 outside in the sense of specific proposals?

2 Q In the sense of either
3 one or the other.

4 A Well, let me -- yes.

5 There has to be -- of course -- there is some --
6 I have been told articulation is the wrong word. There
7 is some relationship between the subsistence economy
8 and the cash economy. The cash economy did not -- was
9 not an indigenous economy to the Dene people inasmuch
10 as the Dene people are going to be involved in the
11 cash economy. They must in fact be "dependent" or have
12 some articulation with the external world.

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1 Q Doesn't it come simply
2 to this, that if the material life of the Dene is to
3 be improved, as they want it to be improved, from what
4 we've heard and in the way they want it to be improved
5 that that requires externally initiated development
6 or capital. It can't be done in this isolated part
7 of the world.

8 A Well, it requires some-
9 thing to trade, okay? That's the key. It requires
10 something that comes out of Dene society and goes into
11 the larger society, for which other things flow back,
12 right?

13 Q Yes.

14 A Okay.

15 Q But it needs the thing
16 flowing back, that's essential.

17 A Of course.

18 Q Yes. So that what -- if
19 one looks at material improvement as the Dene seek it
20 and in the way they seek it, the essential condition
21 of that improvement depends on initiated developments
22 from outside.

23 A Well, you see, there you
24 go with initiated -- it depends on some trade relation-
25 ship with the outside, yes.

26 Q Fine, okay.

27 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, what
28 are you -- what -- I hope I'm getting the signals that
29 are going back and forth here, but when you -- let
30 me ask you both to discuss this for a moment. Various

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 notions have been advanced in the course of these hearings
2 about what an appropriate community development might
3 be and you have seen the saw mills that are found in
4 some of the communities. Saw mills that thrive only
5 intermittently and the suggestion has been from time
6 to time that if anything like the government planning
7 and concern was put into the success of these community
8 developments that has gone into larger developments
9 in the north, things might have turned out a little
10 differently, but that's one example.

11 Now, presumably you have to
12 have a market for the saw and lumber, I suppose, that's
13 the argument there, but nobody in the Dene or the Inuit
14 is saying that they don't want to develop minerals and
15 oil and gas in due course and in some fashion that
16 enables them to engage productively in that work.

17 I mean, I don't think I've misunderstood them and
18 people at Fort Norman and Fort Franklin, I think,
19 Mr. Rushforth, you'd remember better than I, but they
20 indicated that they felt they should have had the
21 benefit of the discovery of radium.

22 A Oil.

23 Q Well, oil at Norman
24 Wells and radium on Great Bear Lake.

25 A Yes.

26 Q But the discoveries were
27 made, the resource extracted and no benefits flowed to
28 them so that they are seeking and may have a clearer
29 idea in their heads of what it is they want, than we
30 do.

1 A Yes.

2 Q But they're not rejecting
3 the notion of developing resources such as oil and gas.
4 Well, you need to be related to the south, out into
5 the world.

6 A I wasn't asserting that
7 I didn't think.

8 Q Well, okay, I just --

9 A The only reason that I
10 was resisting and perhaps was -- maybe I was just
11 misunderstanding was I think it's the externally induced
12 that is disturbing me, not the relationship. Externally
13 induced implies to me that some guy comes to you with a
14 proposal and it's take it or leave it rather than you
15 go to some guy with some alternative of things that
16 you feel are useful and that was the only thing that
17 I was resisting, the relationship to the south and to
18 the world, I'm not resisting and if that was your intent
19 I apologize.

20 MR. SCOTT:

21 Q No. Here's the very
22 simple point I'm trying to make. We all know the
23 expression, "no pipeline without settlement of land
24 claims."

25 A Yes.

26 Q Let's just read that for
27 a moment, "No substantial development without settlement
28 of land claims." Okay, and we have heard that in the
29 community hearings and the judge will correct me if I
30 am wrong. We have also heard in the community hearings
no development at all. The signs at Fort Good Hope, I

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 'recall, specifically appeared to indicate that.

2 Now, let's deal with the second,
3 no development at all. I'm putting to you that that
4 proposition holds no hope for the material improvement
5 of the Dene in the way they seek.

6 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
7 both propositions?

8 MR. SCOTT: No, the latter proposition.

9 A Oh, okay.

10 Q If your observation is
11 that land claims is important because it provides a
12 bargaining handle on the situation, it gives you some-
13 thing to trade, I understand that, but I suggest to you
14 that it is going to be essential to engage in that
15 trade to obtain foreign, that is southern or other
16 capital and developments, if there -- if it is desired
17 to achieve any material improve -- any substantial
18 material improvement, as the Dene say they wish.

19 A Can I respond just
20 this way, all right? I think the Fort Good Hope people
21 are going to have a very interesting time convincing the
22 other Dene that this is the correct position.

23 Q All right. In other words,
24 you almost agree with me.

25 A In other words, I almost
26 agree with you that it would be a very difficult proposi-
27 tion.

28 Q Just a note that refers
29 to our previous discussion, Dr. Chamberlain who's
30 obviously in the running for the trivia prize this week

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 has told me that in fact the Iroquois confederacy was
2 a model utilized by Benjamin Franklin during the councils
3 that proceeded the Declaration of Independence.

4 A I've heard that.

5 Q There we are.

6 THE COMMISSIONER: Was that
7 what you were going to say when I --

8 A Well now, wait a second,
9 now look. You've raised something --

10 THE COMMISSIONER: You were
11 going to say something earlier about that when I raised
12 it.

13 A Oh no, but indeed I feel
14 that as a person who was at one time going to become a
15 member of the sordid profession to which I have been
16 responding, let me say that one -- that it is my under-
17 standing that in fact, one of the major propositions
18 on the argument between Hobbs and Locke, who I'm sure
19 you are well aware of, was based on each of their readings
20 of the way that the Indians lived and each of their
21 assumptions that this was natural man. So, I do not
22 think that it is the trivia, maybe that example might
23 be a trivial one, but we've certainly used native --
24 our reading of native societies as one of the foundations
25 of modern political philosophy.

26 Q Yes. Well I think that's
27 a point well taken and Dr. Chamberlain stands exonerated
28 of the dubious accusation that was made against him.

29 MR. SCOTT: Well now, at page
30 11 and in the pages following that, Mr. Asch, there's a

1 a clear indication of the ways in which the native
2 population adapted to changing circumstances and included
3 among these, in your phrase was an increased individualiza-
4 tion in production.

5 A Yes.

6 Q What is there to indicate
7 that the cohesion, if anything, that the cohesion of
8 the family or local group would necessarily be destroyed,
9 by a further increase in individualization?

10 A Well, you see, they're
11 talking about -- what I was talking about there was
12 the fact that one man with a rifle can at certain times
13 go off by himself and collect food.

14 So, there's an individualization
15 of production there to some extent. I think it is
16 qualitatively different when we're talking about the
17 state of affairs that would happen with large scale
18 wage employment, this is just a result of certain improve-
19 ments in technology, gave people the ability to do that.

20 Q So, do I take it from
21 that that you don't see any risks to the cohesion of
22 the family?

23 A With the rifle, no.

24 Q With --

25 A By adopting the rifle, it
26 is the evidence that I know of that there was no risk
27 to the cohesion of the family.

28 Q No, but is increasing
29 individualization regarded by you as a danger to the
30 family or the unit?

A It

depends on the kind of individualization, it depends on the form of production. I think I make it clear, you're just taking the word individualization and you're saying, "well, look, you say it here and you say it here." I'm saying that within that particular sector of the economy there was a particular technological advancement which enabled certain people to, at certain times, hunt more independently than other people. That is far different than a situation where you've got a government paying individual family heads, regardless of whether they want it, or they don't want it. We're talking about two different things.

Q Yes, well let me turn to one last general question of you. The paper seems premised on the assumption that, unless, and I'm quoting again -- well, I'm not really. Unless certain issues regarding control of and participation and development of the north are resolved first, the development and the pipeline should not take place. That's the whole thrust of the conclusion of your paper.

A Yes and I give the reason,
right?

0 Yes.

A Okay.

Q Well now, --

A Which is that it will
undermine their attempts to regain control over direction
of their society.

O All right. Well now, do

Asch & Rushforth
Cross Exam by Scott

1 you have any suggestions as to, or any comments on
2 the feasibility or the ability to make native control
3 meaningful and to sustain and reinforce indigenous
4 structures in the context of a project, no matter who
5 controls it, as large as this one?

6 A I have to say that my
7 answer to that would be a qualified, yes. I think
8 there's a chance.

9 Q Well, where lies the chance?
10 What I'm suggesting to you is that a project as large
11 as this, whether it's controlled by a native council
12 or an entrepreneurs from the south or some combination
13 of both is so massive that it seems to me, your funda-
14 mental objective, which is group economic and political
15 control in order to sustain indigenous structure, simply
16 will fall in its way.

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Asch. & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 A I'm not sure whether
2 you characterized that. I really don't want to resist
3 you on this thing, but I do not believe that if the
4 Dene decide -- and I don't know the details of it, and
5 as I say, you know, there are going to be internal things
6 -- that they have a way of doing it and they make this
7 proposition of a way of doing it and they wish to main-
8 tain these particular values and so they have attended
9 to those issues, then there is a chance that it will;
10 if not, it will not.

11 Q So that it's conceivable
12 that Dene control of the Territories, let us say,
13 economic and political, might very well simply dupli-
14 cate let us say the control by white men of Alberta.

15 A There's that chance.

16 Q Yes, and I put it to
17 you that in the face of a large project, that's a
18 better than even chance, isn't it? A large project
19 under native control.

20 A I can't quantify it.
21 There's a chance.

22 Q Yes, and if that's so,
23 what we're talking about is self-determination and
24 not the restoration of indigenous social structures.

25 A Well, that's what I
26 thought I was talking about.

27 Q All right, well let's
28 have that clear because we seem to spend a lot of time
29 talking about the restoration of indigenous social
30 structures and all that stuff.

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 A That wasn't evidence that
2 we led.

3 Q I'm sorry, I may have
4 misunderstood you.

5 A Well, let me put it this
6 way. I don't want to prolong this, but since there
7 was an offstage whisper, that indeed my attention to
8 the detail of the ongoing traditional values and so
9 on and so forth was a direct response to the challenge
10 of the applicants that the bush was dying and the
11 challenge of the applicants that the only alternative
12 was large-scale wage employment. I do not think I
13 would have spent that much time on the issue if it
14 had not been raised by someone else, and I felt I had
15 to respond to it.

16 Q Yes.

17 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: Could I
18 say something to that?

19 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes. The
20 applicants have modified their position.

21 WITNESS ASCH:

22 A Only recently, you know.

23 MR. SCOTT: That evidence, to
24 be fair, was led by the Brotherhood, that the indigenous
25 social structures survived, the imposition of individual-
26 ization and all the rest of it.

27 A Well, let me just finish
28 my thought. I have not -- I don't know all of the
29 Brotherhood's testimony. I thought that I had a parti-
30 cular task to undertake. I feel that I have undertaken
that task to the best of my ability. In the course of

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

that I felt it was necessary and indeed extremely necessary to point out again that people were not sitting around waiting for a pipeline and indeed these were the things that were happening. Now if you think that's irrelevant, maybe thank goodness by now it's irrelevant, because people have accepted that. But I do not think it was irrelevant at the time that I wrote this, which was in February.

Q No, no, I'm not making any criticism.

WITNESS RUSHFORTH: There's no doubt that the Dene faced the problem of obtaining cash development, if you want to phrase it that way. But also the problem of self-determinacy which I think everyone would accept is vital here. I think all of us with common sense, if we assumed that traditional forms of knowledge, beliefs and values have been sustained, that those are the kinds of things which a self-determining population will bring to bear on new problems. In other words, there will be a continuity of a tradition facing the new problems and again I think that common sense dictates that if people are using knowledge which they already possess, or are already familiar with, and is already part of their cultural tradition, that common sense dictates that there will be fewer problems involved.

Q So that if it's correct that self-determination is the real question, I think perhaps, Dr. Asch, I should be directing this to you, I take it the extent to which there may presently be

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 reliance on bush subsistence and so on is important
2 so the socio-economic complexion of the Territory
3 will be understood, but is not in any sense an
4 indispensable feature of your argument. If there
5 were no reliance on bush food and traditional ways
6 and all the rest of it, would you be making a case
7 that is any different?

8 WITNESS ASCH: Provided that
9 I knew that the Dene people were going to win their
10 struggle, no.

11 Q Let me put it this way.
12 If you were satisfied that they bore the indicia
13 of a nation entitled to self-determination, the
14 issue of whether they depend on the bush for their
15 food or whether their traditional values in the sense
16 of arranged marriages and all the rest of it survive
17 is irrelevant.

18 A Yes.

19 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: Could I again
20 say something?

21 Q Yes.

22 A I think my point
23 wasn't well-made before. Both the testimony of
24 Dr. Asch and my testimony was written in response
25 to positions which the gas companies set forth, and
26 I think -- tell me if this is wrong, but this is what
27 I understood that position to be -- that the native
28 people in the north are facing certain problems. In
29 addition they said native traditional institutions are
30 dead, the traditional way of life is dead, people no

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 longer derive a significant amount of income from the
2 land therefore we have to seek western solutions to
3 those problems. O.K., what we're suggesting is that
4 those institutions are not dead, that they still sur-
5 vive although changed, and that we think there is
6 every reason to believe that those institutions provide
7 the means for the Dene to solve their own problems.
8 So it's very important, I think -- I mean I want to
9 attack directly sociological justifications for
10 building a pipeline. I mean I don't think if my
11 interpretation of their justification is correct --

12 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, Mr.
13 Rushforth, you've made your point very well in those
14 few sentences and I don't think anyone would dispute
15 that. I think the tendency of both companies in
16 their material was to discount the extent -- the
17 significance of the bush economy to the native people,
18 which of course meant that the whole pipeline project
19 was a matter of greater urgency to the people of the
20 north than you might argue today, it is. That's --
21 you don't have to justify having given evidence. I
22 think everyone felt your evidence was most helpful.
23 I am sure that the representatives of the companies
24 found your evidence most helpful. You'll have noticed
25 that they haven't challenged very much of what you've
26 said about your observations in Fort Franklin regarding
27 reliance on the bush economy, and some of the conclusions
28 you drew from that. Marriage arrangements and so
29 forth, well, that's another matter, and not a very
30 important one. That's certainly my view as it presently

ASCH & RICHART
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 lies.

2 MR. SCOTT: Q Dr. Asch, at
3 page 24217, I don't know whether you've had a chance
4 to look at it, Dr. Hobart, being questioned by me,
5 about --

6 WITNESS ASCH: Can you give
7 me one second?

8 Q Yes.

9 A 24217?

10 Q Dr. Hobart's in the
11 room, but I think I can explain it to you, if it is
12 necessary for you to read it.

13 A O.K.

14 Q But there I was asking
15 Dr. Hobart about what was generally characterized in
16 that exchange as the developing sense of identity among
17 the native people of the Northwest Territories that
18 appears to have developed or intensified in the late
19 '60s and '70s, and I don't want to do him an injustice
20 but he distinguished between a sense of pride in
21 one's self (to use his phrase), on the one hand, and a
22 sense of cultural identification. The contrast, as I
23 understand it, is put, and I'll use his words,

24 "between the survival of traditional institutions
25 on the one hand, and a people's appreciation of
26 themselves."

27 He saw those as two different things. Do you accept
28 that kind of distinction?

29 A I'm sort of getting
30 confused a little bit. I'm sorry, I'm trying to

Asch & Rushtorth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 understand what he's saying.

2 Q Well, let me set it up
3 a little differently, if I can, for you.

4 A O.K.

5 THE COMMISSIONER: Well,
6 excuse me. Maybe we shouldn't become wedded to what-
7 ever Dr. Hobart said.

8 MR. SCOTT: I'm not wedded
9 to it, sir.

10 THE COMMISSIONER: No, but the
11 proposition that you're putting, perhaps you could
12 put in your own words.

13 MR. SCOTT: Well --

14 THE COMMISSIONER: I didn't
15 just follow that passage that you read.

16 MR. SCOTT: Well, it's hard to
17 do that, but I was discussing with Dr. Hobart the
18 question of whether traditional institutions of the
19 Dene had survived, much in the way Mr. Steeves asked
20 questions of you, and --

21 A Not many of me.

22 Q -- and he gave his
23 answers, and then I put to him the developing sense
24 of nationality, if you want to call it that, that had
25 occurred in the late '60s and the '70s, and he
26 acknowledged that that had occurred, but he said that
27 those two phenomena were not connected.

28 A The first one being?

29 Q Let me read you his
30 answer, and I do this not because I'm wedded to it,

Arch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 because I want to be fair to him. At line 16:

2 "No, I think that we're talking about two
3 different issues. On the one hand we're talk-
4 ing about survival of traditional institutions
5 and that sort of thing; on the other hand here
6 I'm talking about a people's appreciation of
7 themselves, how high they hold their heads in
8 the presence of other people, that sort of
9 thing, and there is no necessary relationship
10 between those two conceptions or those two
11 dimensions at all."

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Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 A In principle, I would
2 say that it is possible to view it that way. I am not
3 sure whether that's the actual case here. I think there
4 is an intimate connection between the two but I do
5 not like the word "traditional". I would think we have
6 been talking at length and I think perhaps we are boring
7 you by now with the fact that we are not arguing
8 traditional in an aboriginal sense. We are arguing
9 a creative experience that people have of themselves.

10 So that in that sense of
11 developing their own institutions then, there is a
12 definite relationship between their sense of themselves
13 and their desire to forge their own lives.

14 Q Well, let me put it this
15 way. You or Mr. Rushforth said earlier that the
16 transfer of technology should not by itself or exhaustively
17 be taken as the symbol of acculturation.

18 A Yes.

19 Q That as an indicia
20 was not in your judgment the ultimate indicia.

21 A Before you ask your
22 question, can I just say that I do not know what indexes
23 of acculturation might be but I will allow you to continue.

24 Q All right. Now what
25 I was really trying to put to Dr. Hobart was that the
26 survival of the traditional values was evidenced by
27 the movement of the late 60's and 70's in the formation
28 of the Brotherhood and so on. That that was evidence
29 that those values survived, that the sense of -- that
30 the possibility of the regeneration of native political

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 institutions was evidenced by this development. I
2 understood him to say that he thought there was no
3 connection between the two. Now, have you any comment
4 on that?

5 A Well, this is a really
6 difficult question because it is an interpretation of
7 an interpretation. O.K. But let me just say that it
8 seems to me that the community hearings' evidence that
9 the two issues of traditional values and self-determina-
10 tion seemed to very tied up in the way that the people
11 are expressing themselves. Whether theoretically that
12 necessarily has to be the case I would have to grant
13 Dr. Hobart that necessarily it does not have to be the
14 case. It does seem to be the case here.

15 Q Well now, Dr. Asch or
16 Mr. Rushforth, we've had Mr. Rushforth's --

17 A When do we take a break?

18 THE COMMISSIONER: Oh, sorry.
19 Well let's take that break for tea now.

20 MR. SCOTT: All right.

21 THE COMMISSIONER: Then we'll
22 carry on. Sorry Dr. Asch.

23 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)

24 (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

25 MR. SCOTT: Dr. Asch and
26 Mr. Rushforth, I am not going to take you through this
27 whole business of the dollar value on country food, but
28 I have shown both of you a report prepared by Yupiktak
29 Bista, an organization of the Inuit people of the Yukon
30 and Alaska which sets out at page 16 and 17 a variety of

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 benefits attaching to country food apart from the mere
2 measurement of them in dollars. I want to ask you both
3 first of all whether you have read those pages 16 and
4 17 in that report.

5 WITNESS ASCH: I have.

6 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: Yes.

7 Q Do you agree with the
8 assessment that is made with respect to country food
9 in those paragraphs?

10 A Yes, I think I would agree
11 with everything there.

12 Q Have either of you anything
13 to add to them?

14 WITNESS ASCH: Well, I would
15 just like to add one comment which is that I feel that
16 if we're going to talk about the viability of an economy
17 which this doesn't really attend to all that much, I
18 think that it would be very useful to use production
19 in there as well. That is, how much is produced. What
20 is the potential production. What kind of changes
21 would you need to increase production?

22 But that's the only addition
23 I would make.

24 Q Do you agree with that
25 Mr. Rushforth?

26 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: Can you
27 restate that?

28 WITNESS ASCH: It's a simple
29 thing that I just would like to add that one way of
30 measuring the potential of a resource is to talk about

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 production, that's all.

2 Q Do you agree with
3 that?

4 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: It's
5 reasonable, yes.

6 Q Could I tender, Mr.
7 Commissioner, pages 16 and 17 from that report that's
8 now been identified and approved as the next
9 exhibit?

10 Now, Dr. Asch and Mr. Rush-
11 forth, in examining Dr. Hobart, I asked him if he
12 could suggest some of the criteria for employment,
13 that is for wage employment, which would help inte-
14 grate wage employment with the bush economy and the
15 bush lifestyle of people in the communities, and to
16 assist him and to lead him in that direction I showed
17 him the same report to which I've already referred
18 you at page 18, and have you both seen and read that?

19 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: Yes.

20 WITNESS ASCH: I'd like
21 to have a chance to just glance at it again. Yes,
22 I remember it, yes.

23 Q Well, do you agree
24 with those recommendations?

25 WITNESS RUSHFORTH:

26 A Yes, I think I could
agree with all four of those recommendations in fact.

27 Q Dr. Asch?

28 WITNESS ASCH: Yes.

29 Q Do either of you have
30 any recommendations to add?

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

A Well I noticed, this sounds like I'm repeating myself, but the one more important recommendation obviously is that there is a clear determination by the people ^{of} what they want, in a general framework as well as the specific jobs.

Q All right. Mr. Rushforth?

WITNESS RUSHFORTH: Perhaps one thing, maybe it's not immediately applicable, but I think that it's obvious that the development or economic development which occurs locally would be much more compatible with traditional pursuits, that is the Bear Lake man who is working at Fort Franklin is much more able to utilize Fort Franklin bush resources than were he working at Norman Wells. So as a possible type of wage employment which would be more compatible with bush utilization, I could suggest something like that. Take that for what it's worth.

Q Well, I take it that neither of you regard as essentially critical the four or five recommendations having been met, the size of the project on which these people work or may work?

WITNESS ASCH: With the additional proviso that I made. Well, no.

O Mr. Rushforth?

WITNESS RUSHFORTH: I would have to say "No" right now, yes.

Q That page is already an exhibit, Mr. Commissioner.

Now, Mr. Rushforth, in your

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 evidence last day you discussed a number of the
2 changes which had occurred in Franklin in your time
3 there, which affected -- or in the past -- which
4 affected the mobility of the people in your judgment
5 and the importance of the local group, and you referred,
6 I think, in passing to a low rental housing project.
7 I wonder if you could briefly describe for us the
8 characteristics of that kind of project that induced
9 the results that you were concerned about?

10 A Yes, actually I think
11 I suggested simply that imposed settlement at Fort
12 Franklin obviously worked to undermine the traditional
13 form of land use, although I also as well said that
14 people continued to use the land significantly. I
15 think the issue to which you^{are}/referring here is whether
16 or not construction and occupation of low rental
17 housing at Fort Franklin was instigated paying any
18 attention whatsoever to traditional forms of residence,
19 traditional forms of social organization. I think
20 this clearly was not the case at Bear Lake.

21 According to Bear Lake
22 people, the way in which they were given the
23 particular low rental houses which they **occupy** now, was
24 to have people come into the community, determine who
25 required low rental housing first, in what order,
26 depending upon the state of their housing at that
27 particular time, the number of children and so forth,
28 and then put numbers -- I believe it was actually the
29 keys with numbers on them, into a hat and had people
30 draw keys to determine which low rental house they

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 would occupy. Let me qualify that by saying that's
2 Bear Lake perception, that's how they explained things
3 to me and I believe that was in fact the case.

4 I have a serious question
5 whether or not that sort of government program, or
6 that instigation of that kind of program paid any
7 attention to traditional social organizational values.
8 I believe that was my point. If you'd like me to
9 carry on, I probably could.

10 Q Well --

11 A I think in general that
12 supports the kind of thing that Dr. Asch said in his
13 paper when he suggested very little attention in the
14 past has been paid to traditional forms of social
15 organization, traditional culture.

16 Q Well, Dr. Asch at
17 Wrigley or elsewhere, are you familiar with any
18 experiences of the type that Mr. Rushforth has
19 described?

20 WITNESS ASCH: Yes, in fact
21 it's interesting to note that the issue around housing
22 is roughly similar in Wrigley. In, I believe (and
23 you'll have to check the date) 1967 or '66 the
24 community was moved from the old town, which was on
25 the other side of the river, and it's still marked that
26 way on some Commission maps, and the new town which
27 is on the same side of the river as all the other
28 towns, and houses were constructed for the people there.
29 Now, the situation wasn't that they chose by lot.
30 Actually someone decided (and I'm not exactly sure who

Arch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

the government person was) that there were certain people more in need of houses than others, and so those people got the first choice of houses. So as a matter of fact, they did not pay any attention to the social organization of the old town. Now if any of you ever go by the old town, you will note that it is really divided into two communities, in a sense. It's one community but there are two ends of it, with the white structures in the middle. One end of it was traditionally occupied by people living, hunting and fishing near one lake, and the other people living, hunting and fishing near the other lake. What in fact happened when they moved the town was that the first person or the first house that was built and the first person to move in, moved into a house right in the centre of town, and in fact what then happened was that all his relatives moved in around him and so the other people had to in fact move to the edges of the town and so you broke up the local groups in that way as well. What is interesting, however, and I don't know whether this is cultural persistence or whatever, I don't think that it's certainly something we should try to see how strong values are, but nevertheless what happened was that the town as it is viewed by whites, is seen as running along the road, running along the C.N. line. I don't know if you've been there, you've got three roads, three streets or so, and you conceive of it as running along the C.N. line. If you look at it from the native people's point of view, in fact what they did under these

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 kinds of conditions is choose to be situated in such
2 a way that each family and their extended families
3 and kin would have access to the river without
4 crossing the territory -- or without crossing the
5 paths of people from the other local group. So that
6 they were oriented towards the river, so that they
7 got themselves sort of in three rows, down towards
8 the river, but it did break up the local groups

9 Q In short, the municipal
10 streets ran exactly against the paths that the native
11 community naturally selected?

12 A Absolutely, and in fact
13 if you go through the town you will find that the
14 streets are hardly used at all. Paths run right
15 through the town where people walk up and down and
16 the streets are used by vehicles and you know, some-
17 times for walking around the town, but they're
18 not generally used all that much.

19 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: Could I
20 add something here that I'm reminded of, listening
21 to Dr. Asch? I didn't make this point earlier. When
22 the Bear Lake people first settled at Fort Franklin
23 permanently in the early '50s, through the '50s,
24 their housing was constructed as log cabins, and it
25 was stretched out along, for quite a distance along
26 the lake, and there were clusters of houses, and each
27 one of those clusters, according to my data, was
28 comparable to the local kin group which used to travel
29 in the bush together. O.K. In other words, when
30 first settling at Fort Franklin, residency did reflect

Asch & Rushforth
C cross-Exam by Scott

1 the traditional social organization. It was only
2 after the low rental housing came in that traditional
3 patterns were not reflected.

4 Q One last question. Dr.
5 Asch, Mr. Steeves asked Mr. Rushforth some questions
6 about the process of consensus in a community like
7 Franklin, and I understood the situation to be that
8 consensus was operative among a local group that
9 was relatively homogenous. Now, I'd like to take
10 you to Wrigley, which is a larger community.

11 A I think it's smaller,
12 isn't it, than Franklin? That's all right, take me
13 to a smaller community.

14 Q Well, I am told that
15 Wrigley is a community in which in fact there are a
16 collection of groups rather than one homogenous group.

17 A I don't know whether
18 Franklin differs in that respect, I'm not really sure.

19 Q Well, how does consensus
20 --

21 A Hold on a second.
22 Now a collection of different groups, actually I would
23 have to say that there are two primary groups.

24 Q All right.

25 A When viewed from the
26 point of view of where they hunted and trapped prior
27 to moving into town, and where the men go and hunt
28 and trap today.

29 Q All right, and in those
30 two groups some people are more engaged in the wage

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 economy than others, I take it. There will be
2 some who will work full or part-time for wages, and
3 others who won't.

4 A Yes.

5 Q Well now, in that
6 context, with two groups, two historical groups, the
7 groups divided, if you can use that phrase, in terms
8 of some working for wages more extensively than others,
9 what is the operation, if any, of the consensus
10 principle?

11 A You see, I have trouble
12 with this consensus principle thing. I'm sorry, I
13 don't want to cause any trouble.

14 Q You don't think it
15 exists?

16 A No, I don't know what
17 it is. Maybe if Mr. Rushforth answers the question
18 I'll catch onto what exactly we're trying to talk
19 about here. Like on community-wide decisions, on
20 decisions where to hunt, I'm not exactly sure what
21 we mean.

22 Q Well, you'll recall
23 Mr. Steeves asking Mr. Rushforth about -- I know
24 you don't like the word "traditional", but I'm going
25 to have to use it because I can't think of another
26 -- traditional political systems.

27 A Yes.

28 Q And I understood that
29 you referred particularly to the decision-making
30 process by consensus.

Amelia A. Ruchlicki
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 A Yes.

2 Q Now that was Franklin.

3 I want to ask you what happens at Wrigley, bearing in
4 mind the composition of that community when it comes
5 to community decisions?

6 A Well, it would seem
7 that when we're talking about decisions vis a vis the
8 government, and decisions regarding general propositions,
9 that they do reach collective decisions and that I
10 can assert rather strongly.

11 Q How is that done?

12 A Well, I don't know quite
13 how to operationalize it.

14 Q Well, for example, do
15 the two historical groups achieve a consensus separately?

16 A No.

17 Q So do I understand then
18 that for these purposes the two historic groups have
19 melded into one by virtue of their physical location
20 in the community?

21 A No, they have collective
22 -- they have, at this point in time there is a collec-
23 tivity which is Wrigley, and these two local groups
24 really are not relevant to that particular question.

25 Q All right

26 A In that particular
27 area; it is relevant in terms of where you go hunting
28 and where you go trapping.

29 Q Now is there any altera-
30 tion in the mode by which the community view is

Asch & Rushforth
 Cross-Exam by Scott

1 established, by virtue of the fact that one group work
 2 for wages and the other group don't, is that a factor?

3 A Some individuals work
 4 for wages, and others don't, yes.

5 Q Is that a factor in the
 6 way a consensus is developed?

7 A It does not appear to be
 8 when we're talking -- I'm talking about '69-'70 at this
 9 point because I think you have to be in a community for
 10 a year to really see it, not brief visits, so I don't
 11 really know what would have happened afterwards.
 12 '69-'70, no.

13 Q That made no difference.

14 A It did not appear that
 15 working for wages -- now we're not talking about
 16 these guys who are going out on oil exploration
 17 jobs, they don't have very much to say about what
 18 goes on in the community. O.K., we're talking about
 19 the people who are working full-time in the community,
 20 which I mentioned. O.K., those people. Their status
 21 in the community does not seem to -- is not reflected
 22 in whether or not they work for wages, and their
 23 input into the community appears to me to be no
 24 higher or lower than the traditional status in that
 25 community.

26 Q Mr. Rushforth, did
 27 you want to --

28 WITNESS RUSHFORTH: No.

29 MR. SCOTT: Those are all the
 30 questions I have. Thank you very much, Dr. Asch and

Asch & Rushforth
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 Mr. Rushforth.

2 WITNESS ASCH: Thank you, Mr.

3 Steeves-- Mr. Scott.

(WITNESSES ASIDE)

4 MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner,
5 before we adjourn for the day I have distributed to
6 those participants and applicants who are here several
7 pieces of evidence, and for the record I'll just say
8 what those are, and they represent the first group of
9 COPE witnesses. They deal with what has come to be
10 called the attitude witnesses. The world view evidence.
11 The pieces of evidence are called:

12 "The traditional economy of the Western Arctic,"
13 by Peter Usher.

14 "Industrial Impact,"
15 Hugh Brody.

16 "Overview,"
17 Peter Usher.

18 "Overview,"
19 Hugh Brody.

20 "Overview,"
21 Graham Beekhurst.

22 And at the request of Mr.
23 Scott I have produced those in anticipation that they
24 may be heard before the end of July.

25 THE COMMISSIONER: Excellent.

26 MR. BAYLY: If anybody who is
27 here does not have one of those pieces of evidence of
28 any of them, perhaps they could tell me before the
29 day is out.

30 This is the opportunity that

1 people may have been waiting for to cross-examine
2 Dr. Usher on all the documents at the back, listed
3 at the back of "The traditional economy of the
4 Western Arctic", and in particular the Eskimo land
5 use and occupancy in the Western Arctic, which has
6 been referred to in previous evidence.

7 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,
8 could I make two announcements to save writing a
9 letter? The first is that there being no disagreement
10 as understand it, we propose to allow Mr. Searle to
11 call his evidence on behalf of the Chambers of
12 Commerce, beginning on Monday, August 23rd. There is
13 some dispute about how long that evidence will
14 take, but I don't think it will take very much of
15 that week.

16 I also understand as between
17 Mr. Lueck and Mr. Bayly, it is agreed that COPE's
18 evidence which Mr. Bayly has already described, may
19 be called before Foothills' evidence, and I anticipate
20 that that will be early in the week of July 19th.

21 M R. BAYLY: That's fine, with
22 one possible problem, sir, that Mr. Brody has not
23 yet been located. We know he's somewhere in Labrador
24 and we're trying to track him down right now, but we
25 hadn't anticipated that his evidence would be given
26 until early in August, and that's the problem.

27 THE COMMISSIONER: Right.
28 Mr. Steeves?

29 MR. STEEVES: If I could
30 speak to Professor Jackson through you, there is a

1 misconception about the date when Arctic Gas will
2 present a witness for cross-examination on the Axe
3 Point study. Some people have spoken to me and
4 think it's still next Thursday.

5 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,
6 you will recall that Arctic Gas was going to produce
7 a witness to deal with Axe Point staging, and there
8 were some people from Hay River, I think, who
9 wanted -- and Simpson -- who wanted to be heard on
10 that question. We have tentatively fixed July 20th to
11 deal with that, and I hope that's understood by every-
12 body.

13 THE COMMISSIONER: O.K.
14 Well, my thanks to Dr. Asch and Mr. Rushforth. I
15 think it's been a useful day, a very useful day, and
16 even though we proceed informally I don't want you
17 to think, either of you, that the consideration of
18 your evidence and the matters you've been discussing
19 isn't of vital concern of this Inquiry because it
20 is. We have to understand what is going on here in
21 the north and what is going on in people's heads as
22 well, and you have assisted us greatly in both
23 respects and if I might say so, Dr. Hobart has done
24 so too. I think the fact that you are able to give
25 evidence within a few days of each other and to
26 respond to each other has really made this a livelier
27 discussion than it otherwise would have been.

28 So let me thank all of you
29 counsel for enabling us to have such a productive week
30 I think it's useful that these panels can be gotten on

1 in the morning and that if necessary, we can proceed
2 through the evening to round them off, and not have
3 people suspended in mid-air, so to speak, for days
4 or weeks.

5 So we'll carry right on.

6 It looks as if we will be able to complete our work
7 in September without in any way impinging on the right
8 of all parties to call the witnesses they want and
9 to air the issues they want to before the Inquiry.
10 I just ask you to bear in mind that I'm thinking
11 hard, as we go along, and some of the things that
12 people want to get across to me are things that I
13 may well have begun to develop an appreciation of,
14 and that might be borne in mind.

15 O.K., so --

16 MR. SCOTT: I take it you've
17 closed the meeting with prayer.

18 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, in
19 the traditional way. We'll adjourn then till Monday
20 at 11 A.M. and we'll carry on next week until Friday
21 at noon, I think, when we will go to Providence. We
22 leave 10:30 in the morning on Friday, do we, so we'll
23 try to get as much done as we can right up to Thursday.

24 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO JULY 12, 1976)
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347

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Vol. 160

AUTHOR

Mackenzie Valley pipeline inquiry:

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BORROWER'S NAME

~~auto~~ B. Holland

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M835

Vol 160

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MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY

Government
Publication

IN THE MATTER OF APPLICATIONS BY EACH OF

- (a) CANADIAN ARCTIC GAS PIPELINE LIMITED FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY AND THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, and
- (b) FOOTHILLS PIPE LINES LTD. FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

FOR THE PURPOSE OF A PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE

and

IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACT REGIONALLY OF THE CONSTRUCTION, OPERATION AND SUBSEQUENT ABANDONMENT OF THE ABOVE PROPOSED PIPELINE

(Before the Honourable Mr. Justice Berger, Commissioner)

Yellowknife, N.W.T.

July 12, 1976.

PROCEEDINGS AT INQUIRY

NB. Foothills testimony, see also
Case Even notes 170 + 171

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Mr. Stephen T. Goudge,
Mr. Alick Ryder and
Mr. Ian Roland for Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry;

Mr. Pierre Genest, Q.C.,
Mr. Jack Marshall,
Mr. Darryl Carter and
Mr. J.T. Steeves for Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Limited.

Mr. Reginald Gibbs, Q.C.,
Mr. Alan Hollingworth and
Mr. John W. Lutes for Foothills Pipe Lines Ltd.;

Mr. Russell Anthony,
Prof. Alastair Lucas and
Mr. Garth Evans for Canadian Arctic Resources Committee;

Mr. Glen W. Bell and
Mr. Gerry Sutton for Northwest Territories Indian Brotherhood, and Metis Association of the Northwest Territories;

Mr. John Bayly and
Miss Leslie Lane for Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, and The Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement;

Mr. Ron Veale and
Mr. Allen Lueck for The Council for the Yukon Indians;

Mr. Carson Templeton for Environment Protection Board;

Mr. David H. Searle, Q.C. for Northwest Territories Chamber of Commerce

Mr. Murray Sigler for The Association of Municipalities;

Mr. John Ballem, Q.C. for Producer Companies;

Mrs. Joanne MacQuarrie, for Mental Health Association of the Northwest Territories.

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Trusty, Williams, Hollands,
Carlson
In Chief
Yellowknife, N.W.T.

July 12, 1976.

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, ladies
and gentlemen, shall we come to order and consider
the evidence of Arctic Gas?

MR. STEEVES: This morning, Mr.
Commissioner, Panel 3 of the Arctic Gas case in Phase
4 will be presented.

MR. GOUDGE: Sorry, Mr. Steeves,
I can't hear you. I wonder --

MR. STEEVES: All right. This
morning Panel 3 of the Arctic Gas Phase 4 case will be
presented. From the left to the right, Mr. Trusty has
already been sworn. Next to him is Mr. Hollands of
Arctic Gas, who will deal largely with personnel
matters. Then Mr. Williams and Mr. Carlson. Has
Mr. Hollands been sworn? All right.

WAYNE B. TRUSTY,

GUY LESLIE WILLIAMS,

F.T. HOLLANDS,

M.E. CARLSON, resumed:

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. STEEVES:

Q Mr. Hollands, are the
particulars set out in the folder marked,
"Testimonial Qualifications"
true and correct?

WITNESS HOLLANDS: Yes.

Q Mr. Trusty, will you

Trusty, Williams, Hollands, Carlson
In Chief

1 commence by reading your evidence?

2 WITNESS TRUSTY: To provide a
3 backdrop for this panel's testimony on employment
4 opportunities and policies, I would like to briefly
5 review some of the employment estimates presented in
6 Section 14.c.

7 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
8 Mr. Trusty, sorry, I've got,

9 "Policies, Plans, Potential Impacts, Construc-
10 tion Phase and Operations Phase,"
11 but --

12 A No sir, those are later
13 panels.

14 Q Go ahead, Mr. Trusty.

15 A All right -- provide a
16 backdrop for this panel's testimony on employment
17 opportunities and policies, I would like to briefly
18 review some of the employment estimates presented in
19 Section 14.c.

20 Before turning to the estimates
21 there are a couple of points that should be noted.
22 During the course of the Arctic Gas testimony we will
23 be presenting various estimates of direct, indirect,
24 and induced employment; sometimes with reference to
25 the entire region and at other times with reference to
26 a specific function or locale. As you will appreciate,
27 there have been changes in these estimates over time
28 as planning with respect to particular functions or
29 locations has become more detailed. In preparing this
30 testimony, we have attempted to use the estimates that

Trusty, Williams, Hollands, Carlson
In Chief

1 will best serve the purposes of the Inquiry without
2 leading you into a hopeless tangle of statistics.

3 For example, the figures that I
4 am about to present include estimates of man-years of
5 employment in transportation as a result of the project.
6 At a later stage we will present more detailed figures
7 on the number of jobs associated with the staging
8 activities in the Hay River area. While there is con-
9 siderable overlap between these two sets of figures,
10 the units of measure are different, the method of cate-
11 gorizing is different, and the numbers for Hay River
12 reflect recent, more detailed planning efforts and take
13 in a broader scope of activities than did the earlier
14 estimates. When we are talking specifically about the
15 nature and level of activity in the Hay River area,
16 we will use the more detailed and precise figures.
17 However, at this stage when we are simply trying to
18 establish the order of magnitude of total employment,
19 as a backdrop for other testimony, the figures from
20 14.c are sufficiently accurate.

21 The employment estimates in
22 Section 14.c are sub-divided into three categories --
23 primary direct employment, primary indirect employment,
24 and induced or secondary employment. Since the estimates
25 were compiled from the perspective of the pipeline
26 company, the primary direct category is restricted to
27 jobs generated in the construction and operation of the
28 pipeline and associated pipeline facilities such as
29 compressor stations. The primary indirect category
30 includes jobs in exploration, gas field development,

Trusty, Williams, Hollands, Carlson
In Chief

1 gas plant construction and operations, transportation
2 and equipment storage and supply. Secondary employment
3 includes jobs generated in other sectors of the economy
4 as a result of the multiplier effects of increased
5 spending by persons in the primary employment categories.

6 At this point I am going to
7 deal only with the primary direct and indirect categories.
8 More detailed estimates for secondary or induced employ-
9 ment will be presented at a later stage. With regard to
10 the primary direct employment, the estimates are restric-
11 ted to only those employment opportunities that will
12 result from the construction and operation of the basic
13 pipeline system that is being proposed by Arctic Gas.
14 Similarly, the indirect category is restricted to the
15 development of only those field facilities and gas
16 plants that would be required to achieve the pipeline
17 base case throughput. In other words, the estimates
18 ignore the potential for expanded activity in the
19 producing end and with respect to the pipeline itself.

20 In addition, the estimates for
21 pipeline employment -- the primary direct category --
22 do not include employment associated with the significant
23 amount of post-construction cleanup and restoration that
24 we anticipate will be contracted to outside firms during
25 the first five years of pipeline operations. The esti-
26 mates also do not include jobs that will be generated
27 after the commencement of operations as a result of the
28 expenditure of approximately half a million dollars
29 annually on casual labor.

30 There are some additional

Trusty, Williams, Hollands, Carlson
In Chief

1 conservative assumptions with respect to the indirect
2 employment category that I will explain in a few
3 moments when we turn to the numbers themselves. The
4 effect of all of these factors is to introduce a
5 downward bias in the estimates. In other words, the
6 estimates are conservative if one is interested in the
7 total number of employment opportunities. I think
8 that the relevance of this conservative approach for
9 the purposes at this stage will become clear. Later,
10 when we get to the point of discussing potential popula-
11 tion increases and other employment-related impacts,
12 we will use estimates that have a reverse bias to
13 ensure that such impacts are not understated.

Trusty, Hollands
Williams, Carlson
In Chief

1 Primary Direct Employment.

2 We have some viewgraphs sir, but we haven't quite got
3 the thing set up. Could we take a couple of minutes and
4 do that?

5 THE COMMISSIONER: Sure, fine.

6 A The first
7 category is primary direct employment.

8 Q Just so
9 I can appreciate these, man-years, would you just define
10 that for us so that there's no misunderstanding about
11 it?

12 A I'm going to be doing
13 that immediately sir, and the tables.

14 Q All right, the second
15 thing is, I see that the first -- on this graph, on this
16 table, the first construction activity is in the summer
17 of '77 and I would take it that the first winter of
18 pipelaying then is '78 - '79.

19 A That's correct sir, that's
20 the current schedule.

21 Q Correct. Now, that's the
22 one we've been dealing with for something like the last
23 six to nine months, isn't it?

24 A That's correct sir.

25 All right, are you --

26 Q Right, carry on, sorry.

27 A The first table shows
28 estimated man-years of employment in pipeline construction
29 in Canada north of the 60th parallel. Assuming a start
30 in 1977, construction employment will increase from

Trusty, Hollands
Williams, Carlson
In Chief

1 initial -- sorry, from an initial level of about 250
2 man-years to a peak in the third year of 2,500 man-years
3 and then decline to a level of about 650 man-years in
4 1983.

5 While Mr. Williams will be
6 presenting more detailed information on skill breakdowns,
7 I should note that approximately 64 percent of the
8 construction work force will be skilled, 16 percent
9 semi-skilled and 20 percent unskilled.

10 Although these estimates are
11 presented in terms of man-years, they generally correspond
12 to the estimates presented by Mr. Williams in an earlier
13 phase of the hearing. I use the word generally because
14 we have rounded the figures here to the nearest 50 for
15 the sake of simplicity.

16 Further, the conversion to
17 man-years is not a straight forward one, since it involves
18 aggregating the data on a calendar year basis as well
19 as averaging to account for the peaking that will occur.
20 In addition, the data presented here does not include
21 the inspection personnel that were added in by Mr. Williams
22 in his earlier presentation.

23 Q What about supervisory
24 personnel?

25 A Yes, they're included.

26 Q Right.

27 A They are included. Does
28 that satisfy in terms of the definition of man-years, sir,
29 or would you like some further explanation of that?

30 Q Well, I don't want to sound

Trusty, Hollands
Williams, Carlson
In Chief

1 stupid about this, but a man-year is employment of one
2 man for 12 months.

3 A That's correct, and what
4 happens in fact, in construction, is that you may have
5 a peak number of men in a particular month doing certain
6 tasks and in getting the man-year figures, the man-days
7 or man-months or man-weeks are averaged to determine
8 if you take the total number of men working for the
9 periods they actually work, what does that translate
10 into in terms of men working for 12 months. So, it's
11 an averaging process to give a base unit of measure.

12 Now, the -- well, we'll get
13 to the other side. The comparison between the actual
14 number of men working is what the second half of that
15 table shows. The right hand side of it and we'll come
16 to that in a second.

17 Q Yes, the right hand side
18 shows us the number of people on the job.

19 A That's right, and those
20 numbers are averaged for three month periods, but they
21 are a number of men averaged for the three months in
22 the summer and the three months in the winter and so
23 on down through the years.

24 Q Yes, and the final thing
25 is, this is all north of 60.

26 A That's correct and all in
27 Canada, north of 60.

28 Q Yes.

29 A The man-year unit of
30 measure was adopted in section 14.c and has been retained

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here to simplify comparisons with other employment related data. Before leaving this table, it is useful to consider the corresponding estimates of the number of men that would be required during peak periods. Because of the fluctuations that will occur as a result of construction scheduling, the estimates of the number of men required have been aggregated by seasons. The number of man-months for July, August and September were averaged in order to get the estimates for the summer season and man-months for January, February and March were averaged to get the winter season estimates.

Of course, employment is not restricted to only those six months. The intent here is simply to show the number of men required in the peak portion of the summer seasons and the peak portion of the winter season.

As you can see, the actual number of men required during a given season is larger than the man-year estimates might suggest. In the peak winter of '79 - '80, the number of men required is in excess of 4,500 while the total man-year estimates for both 1979 and 1980 run in the order of 2,500.

The estimates of total man-years of employment in pipeline construction shown in the previous table are repeated in the first line of table two. I'm sorry, we should put table two up.

Estimates of total man-years of employment in pipeline construction, shown in the previous table are repeated in the first line of table two. The second line shows the estimated full-time employment in

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1 pipeline operations, rounded to the nearest ten.

2 Operations employment begins
3 in 1979 at a level of about 130 man-years and then increases
4 in 1982 to a stable level of approximately 210 man-years
5 per year.
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1 You will recall that I men-
2 tioned that the employment estimates for the operating
3 phase do not include the casual or part-time labor that
4 will be required. Accordingly, unlike the case in con-
5 struction, the man-year estimates for the operating
6 phase correspond directly to the number of jobs.

7 As you know, the operating
8 headquarters of the northern division of the pipeline
9 will be in Inuvik. Inuvik will also serve, along with
10 Norman Wells and Fort Simpson, as a district office for
11 the operations and maintenance of a specific portion of
12 the line. The ongoing operations employment will be
13 split among these three centers with Inuvik generating
14 approximately 80 man-years per year, while Norman Wells
15 and Fort Simpson each will account for approximately 65
16 man-years per year.

17 Adding the construction and
18 operations phase estimates yields the estimate of total
19 direct employment shown in the third line of the table.

20 The next portion of the table
21 shows the indirect employment that will be generated as
22 a result of gas field development, gas plant construction
23 and operations, continuing exploration activities and the
24 increase in transportation and equipment storage and
25 supply activity that will be generated by the pipeline
26 and related construction. Again, the estimated man-
27 years in each category have been rounded to the
28 nearest 50.

29 As I noted earlier, the
30 employment estimates for gas field development and

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1 production were derived by taking into account only the
2 gas field activities required to support the base case
3 pipeline system.

4 are
5 Bearing in mind that we interest-
6 ed here in deriving estimates of only the employment
7 that will result directly or indirectly from the pipe-
8 line, the estimation of exploration employment in the
9 delta and other sub-regions poses a more difficult
10 problem. While it is probable that in the absence of the
11 pipeline, exploration activities would decline, it is
12 not possible to estimate with any degree of certainty
13 what the "without pipeline" levels of activity would be.
14 The level of activity could fall to almost zero, depend-
15 ing on the nature of the decision that was made with
16 respect to the pipeline. Alternatively, the level
17 could decline for a period of time and then increase.

18 In view of the estimation
19 difficulties, we used the following approach to derive
20 the approximation shown in the table.

21 For the delta sub-region, it
22 was assumed that the estimated 1974 level of exploration
23 activity will remain constant throughout the study
24 period.

25 For the other sub-regions, it
26 was assumed that the average level of activity in recent
27 years will remain constant throughout the study period.

28 The total employment generated
29 by these two assumed levels of activity has been
30 attributed in the table as an impact of the pipeline.

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1
2 It is probable that the delta
3 assumption significantly understates what will actually
4 occur as a result of the pipeline. While it is possible
5 that the assumption for exploration activity in the
6 other sub-regions may overstate somewhat the effects of
7 the pipeline, this category does not account for a large
8 proportion of the total and it is likely that the degree
9 of understatement for the delta more than compensates for
10 any over-estimation in the other sub-regions. The net
11 result, in our judgement, is that the figures shown
12 reflect a conservative estimate of exploration employ-
13 ment attributable to the pipeline.

14 I might note at this point that
15 when we go into the more detailed calculations that
16 have been made recently, the numbers are considerably
17 higher in the exploration category than shown
18 here. Those result in much more detailed estimates
19 that have made by the producers and passed on to us and
20 used in subsequent work.

21 A similar situation arises in
22 the estimation of employment in the transportation sector
23 (the third category of indirect employment). A signifi-
24 cant proportion of transportation activity has been
25 generated by the petroleum industry in recent years , and
26 therefore a decline could be anticipated in the absence
27 of the pipeline. On the other hand, it is expected that
28 there will be some increase in traffic as a result of the
29 growth of the base population of the region, even
30 without the pipeline. While it is probable that the net
"without pipeline" situation would involve a decline in

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1 transportation activity, it is impossible to make a
2 realistic estimate of the magnitude of the change.
3 accordingly, in estimating indirect employment
4 attributable to the pipeline, we have again used a
5 conservative approach: only the employment associated
6 with anticipated increases in transportation activity
7 above current levels has been attributed to the project.
8 In other words, it has been assumed that any decline
9 due to a decrease in petroleum industry activity in
10 the absence of the pipeline would be matched by an in-
11 crease in transportation activity as a result of the
12 projected increase in the base population.
13

14 The annual totals for the
15 three categories of indirect employment are shown in
16 the second last line of the table.

17 The last line shows the overall
18 estimate of employment attributable to the project
19 that results from summing the annual totals of direct
20 and indirect employment. I should note that while the
21 table only covers the period to 1987, the post-construc-
22 tion level of approximately 1,600 man-years of employ-
23 ment per year represents a stable employment picture
24 that would continue beyond 1987.

25 May I have the next chart? In
26 figure 1 we have depicted the totals from the last table
27 in a simple bar chart form to provide a clearer picture
28 of the pattern of direct and indirect employment
29 through the period to 1987. The chart provides a picture
30 of the year-to-year changes in total man-years of employ-
ment.

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Probably the most striking feature of this chart is the impression that it conveys of a boom-bust employment situation. Certainly there is no doubt that construction of the pipeline, and the related construction and field development activities of the producers, require a very large work force in a concentrated period of time. However, the boom-bust impression is misleading if the total employment picture is viewed from the perspective of the regional labor force.

The significant factor from the perspective of the regional labor force is the stable employment base that will be generated; the approximately 1,600 man-years of direct and indirect employment per year that will continue long after the main construction activity is completed. That employment base is shown in the figure by the white area. Beyond 1984 these are the jobs in pipeline operations, gas plant operations, continued gas field development and exploration. While in the period prior to 1984, many of the jobs will be construction-oriented, regional residents will have the opportunity to acquire many of the skills that will allow them to take advantage of the continuing employment opportunities. In fact, one way to interpret this picture is to visualize the peak employment requirements in the years 1977 to 1984 -- the area that lies above the white area -- being met by outside workers. As long as proper measures are taken to insulate communities from adverse impacts as a result of this influx of outside workers, the

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1 regional boom-bust aspects of the project can be
2 greatly minimized.

3 In fact I might just note
4 that the way it works out in terms of numbers is that
5 the entire pipeline construction work force requirements
6 can be met in that area above the white area by trans-
7 ient workers, and so that one could--another way to
8 interpret it is that all the more on-going jobs in
9 pipeline and gas plant operations and exploration and
10 seismic work are reflected in the white area at the bottom
11 and the entire pipeline construction activity in the
12 area above, so that one could even think of that entire
13 pipeline construction being met by transient workers.

14 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me.
15 What proportion of the white bar would represent the
16 direct employment on the pipeline, that is on operations
17 and maintenance of the pipeline?

18 A Below the 250 level, so
19 it's quite a small proportion really of the total.

20 Q The balance of the white
21 bar is really a projection of the expected activity
22 in oil and gas exploration and so on.

23 A That's right. If you get
24 out to 1984, then the white bar is made up primarily of
25 pipeline operations which is at a level of a little over
26 200, and then continued development and production in
27 gas plants at a level of about 650, exploration at a
28 level of about 750, then that's it. That's ^{what's} captured
29 by that. Now, as I say, those estimates, when we
30 come later those estimates are actually low compared to

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1 what we have done more recently.

2 At this point the relevance of
3 the conservative estimation procedures that were des-
4 cribed is probably evident. We have gone out of our
5 way to ensure that we did not overstate the estimates
6 of continuing employment opportunities that will be
7 generated. In fact, not only are the estimates conser-
8 vative in terms of the categories that have been dealt
9 with, but they also exclude all secondary or spinoff
10 employment effects of the project, as well as employment
11 that would be associated with expansion of the producer
12 activities or of the pipeline itself. At a later stage
13 when we present more detailed information on secondary
14 effects, it will be clear that the 1,600 man-years per
15 year represents a minimum of continuing employment
16 opportunities for regional residents. Having said that,
17 however, I want to emphasize that even the level of
18 1,600 man-years is highly significant in relation to the
19 prevailing employment situation and the size of the
20 regional labor force.

21 In 1972, Gemini undertook a
22 survey of the level of employment in the study region.
23 They estimated that total employment in that year was
24 equal to approximately 6,450 man years. The 1,600
25 man years of direct and indirect employment attributable
26 to the project would be equivalent therefore, to an
27 increase of approximately 25% over the employment
28 levels in 1972. This is only one of several yardsticks
29 that could be employed to indicate that for this region
30 the stable continuing employment opportunities will be

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1 highly significant and not at all indicative of a boom-
2 bust situation in the sense that the term is normally
3 used.

4 I might note here that the
5 other day in cross-examination Mr. Scott hazarded a
6 guess of unemployment at a level of about 25% in the
7 region. So that using his guess as to what unemployment
8 is, this would indicate a full employment picture, should
9 regional residents choose to take advantage of the
10 opportunity.

11 With this overall employment
12 picture as a backdrop, the other members of the panel
13 will now present more detailed information regarding the
14 nature of the jobs that will be available and the poten-
15 tial for regional residents to take advantage of the
16 job opportunities, should they choose to do so. They
17 will also deal with policies and plans that Arctic Gas
18 hopes to implement with respect to southern workers
19 who will be employed in the north.

20 WITNESS WILLIAMS: Mr.
21 going
22 Commissioner, I am ' to briefly review the nature of
23 the employment opportunities that will be available
24 during the construction phase.

25 Detailed information on
26 personnel requirements and skill classifications was
27 filed in response to the Pipeline Application Assessment
28 Group, Question No. 2. In that response crew sizes
29 and job classifications were provided for the following:

- 30 - Typical hand-clearing crew
- Typical machine-clearing and right-of-way

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1 preparation crew

2 - Typical air field and station site crew

3 - Typical construction spread north of 65 degrees

4 North Latitude

5 - Typical construction spread south of 65 degrees

6 North Latitude.

7 I propose to include essentially
8 the same information here, with only a minor revision
9 to reflect changes that have been made since the
10 response was filed. Specifically, a revision has been
11 made to the crew entitled:

12 "Typical air field and station site crew."

13 When the response was written, the crew required to
14 construct compressor station M-15 was selected as
15 being typical. As a result of subsequent changes in
16 the construction plan, that crew is no longer typical,
17 and we have therefore substituted a crew composition
18 that is an average of all crews required to complete
19 this phase of the project.

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In addition, the information presented in the response has been augmented by the inclusion of two other significant crews -- the crews constructing the compressor stations after the gravel pad, airstrips, wharfs and roads are completed; and the crews required to install a major river crossing.

Each of the crews is broken down by skill classification. The classifications used here and in the filed response were suggested by the Economic Staff Group of the Northern Development Branch of DIAND in their report entitled "Regional Impact of a Northern Gas Pipeline". The description of each skill class is as follows:

Class 1 -- Skilled pipeline workers with experience and/or qualifications gained through extended employment in the pipelining industry. Labor in this classification is a part of the pipeline industry and would be imported.

Class 11 -- Labor in this classification is comprised essentially of skilled construction-oriented labor with highly developed skills which are not necessarily related specifically to pipeline construction. Experience or intensive training either prior to pipeline construction or on-the-job training would be required.

Class 111 -- Labor in this classification is defined as having some clerical or light equipment handling experience. On-the-job or pre-job training would be required.

Class IV -- Labor in this classification is defined as having little or no previous experience related to service, construction or transportation functions, but

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1 will have previous work experience in formal employment.

2 The proportions of each
3 classification deemed not to require extensive industry
4 experience are:

5 0% of Skill Class I

6 10% of Skill Class II

7 100% of Skill Class III and IV.

8 The crew sizes and skill
9 classifications are shown in tables 1 through 7. It should
10 be emphasized that the crews shown are typical of the
11 total number of people required to complete the par-
12 ticular aspect of the project. It should be not be
13 interpreted, however, that all of the people listed
14 would be required at the work site at the same time
15 or for the full duration of the project phase. In most
16 cases, the camp facilities required would be for fewer
17 people than the total shown for each crew.

18 Now Mr. Commissioner, with
19 your permission, I wouldn't read in these tables. I
20 have a couple of dozen extra copies of the tables for
21 anyone that may be interested.

22 THE COMMISSIONER: Fine.

23 A Then at the top of page
24 11, I should note that the typical major river crossing
25 crew shown in table seven would be adequate to install
26 the crossings at the East and Langley Mackenzie River
27 Channels in the summer of construction year four.
28 Smaller crews would be used for the installation of the
29 Great Bear River crossing and the Mackenzie River crossing
30 near Fort Simpson. This typical crew would be augmented

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1 with additional equipment and personnel to install the
2 crossings of Shallow Bay, West Channel and Middle
3 Channel during the summer of construction year five.
4

5 Table eight shows the present
6 estimate of the number of crews that would be required
7 in each construction season. This estimate, which is
8 based on the schedule shown in the Consolidated Filing,
9 reflects a slight change from the information filed in
10 response to Question two. The changes result from the
11 adoption of the Cross-Delta Routing, the movement of
12 facilities away from communities and the possible non-
13 availability of the Mackenzie Highway north of Wrigley.

14 Figure one shows the accumula-
15 tive labour requirements in Canada north of 60°. This
16 graph is a revised version of the graph presented
17 earlier in the hearings and takes account of the changes
18 that result from adoption of the Cross-Delta Routing.

19 In that regard Mr. Commissioner,
20 the graph of course is slightly different from Mr.
21 Trusty's table in that he was using the figures in six
22 and 14.c. The graph is different mainly in the last
23 pipeline construction year to reflect a reduction in
24 people required because of the Cross-Delta Routing.

25 I have a view graph of that
26 figure one if anyone is interested. It's also included
27 in the additional copies.

28 Q Well it's easy to follow
29 I think right here. Maybe you might put it up because
30 there are some who don't have material before them.

A I can do that or pass out

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1 these copies that also have it in the back.

2 Q Fine.

3 MR. GOUDGE: I wonder Mr.
4 Williams, now that we have it if you could go over how
5 this graph differs from the earlier similar graph that
6 we dealt with earlier when you gave evidence. I didn't
7 quite follow you because the graph I had didn't come
8 out as well as the one I have now.

9 A Mr. Goudge, I checked
10 the graph with the earlier figures presented by Mr.
11 Trusty and all the years are fairly close, except in the
12 sixth construction year. It shows on the graph a total
13 personnel required on the pipeline excluding the
14 inspection in Arctic Gas and the construction management
15 people -- a total of about 3,400 on the graph; whereas
16 I think Mr. Trusty's numbers were in excess of 4,000.

17 That reflects a reduction of
18 two spreads because of the adoption of the Cross-Delta
19 Routing. The rest of the figures I think Mr. Goudge
20 are fairly close.

21 MR. GOUDGE:
22 Thank you.

23 WITNESS HOLLANDS: Can we
24 proceed Mr. Commissioner?

25 This testimony deals with the
26 development of programs for employment opportunities for
27 northern residents during the construction phase. In
28 addressing this question, Arctic Gas recognizes a
29 special obligation to the native peoples of the north.

30 Arctic Gas has established
a continuing dialogue with the various parties who would

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1
2 logically have an interest in the successful development
3 of a northern residents employment program. These
4 include DIAND, trade unions which will be involved, as
5 well as some of the execution contractors who may be
6 involved. In addition, Arctic Gas has tried to benefit
7 from the experiences of the Alyeska project in Alaska
8 where a somewhat similar situation provides an opportunity
9 for meaningful observation.

10 The Alyeska Project Agreement
11 contains certain provisions about training and employment
12 of Alaskan residents and Arctic Gas has continuously
13 observed and studied the implementation of these provi-
14 sions.
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We have had discussions with Alyeska, with contractors, with unions, and with Alaskan State Government personnel concerned with employment opportunities, and as a result Arctic Gas is in a position to learn from the Alaska experience, and to use this learning to ensure that its policies about employment for northern residents are realistic and at the same time consistent with policies established in the Expanded Guidelines for Northern Pipelines, 1972.

As the client, Arctic Gas can clearly impose conditions on the contractors with respect to employment, training, counselling and working conditions during construction. This, of course, is not enough. It will be necessary to have the co-operation and active support of all the trade unions involved -- particularly with respect to matters such as union membership, use of hiring halls, and entrance standards for trades training of northern residents. It is well recognized that these are matters of great importance to the individual unions in the construction industry.

I believe the obligations of Arctic Gas, the execution contractors and the unions which would be involved in the project should be the same, insofar as employment and training of northern residents are concerned, and therefore it is expected that all parties will be seeking to reach agreement on these matters in a manner which will be consistent with the policies as established in the Expanded

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1 Guidelines for Northern Pipelines, 1972.

2 Arctic Gas has had under dis-
3 cussion with DIAND for two years the development of
4 possible arrangements with respect to the employment
5 and training of northern residents in both construction
6 and operations.

7 The latest draft agreement,
8 whic h has been used for the purposes of discussion, is
9 appended to this testimony. Also appended is a letter
10 from Mr. Arthur Kroeger, Deputy Minister of DIAND,
11 expressing their position with respect to this draft
12 agreement.

13 While the draft has been used
14 for the purposes of discussions, it is in no way final
15 and it is intended that any final arrangement reflect
16 the input of this Inquiry and benefit from the views
17 of all interested parties.

18 Meetings have also been held
19 with representatives of the Pipeline Advisory Council.
20 This council consists of representatives of the four
21 Pipeline Craft Unions (U.A., Labourers, Operating
22 Engineers and Teamsters) and a number of pipeline
23 contractors. The purpose of these meetings has been
24 to exchange views and information and to seek the
25 appropriate commitments so as to maximize the employment
26 opportunities for northern residents during the con-
27 struction phase.

28 It is my view that both the
29 contractors and the pipeline craft unions represented
30 on the council understand the situation and they hav e

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1 given us assurances that they accept the principle of
2 providing maximum employment opportunities to northern
3 residents, including reasonable relaxation of terms and
4 conditions leading to such employment.

5 Arctic Gas has not held formal
6 meetings with native organizations for the purpose of
7 discussing the training and employment of interested
8 northern natives during the construction phase, but is
9 prepared to as soon as they wish to.

10 There have been informal
11 meetings with some officials of some native organizations
12 to discuss these questions, and there have been personal
13 contacts with many northern residents in the settlements
14 by both Nortran recruiters and Arctic Gas personnel.

15 Arctic Gas does not pretend to
16 have settled all of the questions or to have reached
17 all of the agreements necessary to assure a smooth
18 integration into the construction employment stream of
19 northern residents who are interested in getting
20 employment during the construction phase.

21 Notwithstanding this ongoing
22 process, Arctic Gas has formulated policies and has
23 developed some of the plans necessary for the implemen-
24 tation of these policies.

25 Arctic Gas will give preference
26 to all employable northern residents who are desirous
27 of construction employment in accordance with the
28 Expanded Guidelines for Northern Pipelines, 1972.

29 A policy of preference for
30 northerners requires special measures. The special

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1 measures which will be made available by Arctic Gas are
2 as follows:

3 (1) In situations in which qualifications of a northerner
4 and southern resident are equal, the northern resident
5 will be given preference;

6 (2) In any case where the qualifications of a particular
7 job can be relaxed, we will do so for the northern
8 resident and then give him preference over a fully-
9 qualified southerner for that job;

10 (3) In those cases where a candidate cannot meet the
11 relaxed qualifications, special training will be made
12 available to bring skills up to a level satisfactory
13 for employment.

14 It is our view that these
15 measures with respect to preference will result in
16 employment opportunities for every northern resident
17 who seeks such opportunity. But more important is
18 the focus on training and the consequent opportunity
19 for northern residents.

20 The various unions involved
21 have long and well-established standards for entry
22 which, without some modification, would preclude the
23 employment of many northern residents in skilled jobs.
24 Two of the standards which will likely create difficulty
25 for northern residents would be membership and dis-
26 patch through hiring halls.

27 I am of the view that the
28 unions involved are aware of and have a concern to
29 solve these and other associated problems, and that the
30 unions are prepared to make reasonable special

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1 accommodations for northern residents so as to ease the
2 condition for union membership and for employment.
3 through hiring halls.

4 The constitutions of the various
5 unions and their practices dictate who will become union
6 members. Arctic Gas will attempt to negotiate excep-
7 tions to these limitations so as to make union membership
8 generally available. Obviously, this is a prerequisite
9 to one of the measures I identified earlier with respect
10 to preference for northern residents.

11 Arctic Gas will provide infor-
12 mation on all construction jobs. This information will
13 be provided continuously to whatever government agency
14 is designated to co-ordinate northern job placement.

15 At the present time, DIAND
16 in conjunction with the Territorial Governments and
17 several petroleum companies and gas transmission compan-
18 ies, including Arctic Gas, have under discussion a
19 co-ordinated recruitment procedure for northern residents
20 which is called the Manpower Delivery System.

21 I might interject that this
22 is in a stage of development and the various parties,
23 I think, have some different views as to how it could
24 best function and I'd like to deal with my own for
25 a moment.

26

27

28

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My concept of this system would include a coordinating council, with representation for the government agency or agencies responsible for employment, the unions involved in the project, native organizations interested in employment of their people and of course, employers including Arctic Gas. This council would direct the over all activity of the Man-power Delivery System.

The essential elements of the system would include recruitment and selection procedures, travel and accomodation arrangements, medical examinations, clothing and equipment checks, union enrollment as required, pre-employment training where required, orientation and personal and family counselling. Other elements may be identified as discussions and developments proceed.

It is our expectation that this system will eliminate the use of hiring halls in the north.

The measure that I have just described are examples of the concrete, practical steps that Arctic Gas intends to take, either by itself or in conjunction with others in order to ensure that all northern residents, capable of employment would have maximum opportunity to gain employment during the construction phase of the Arctic Gas project.

Arctic Gas will ensure that employment opportunities are made available to present and expanded numbers of Nortran trainees. Such employment will accommodate their continued development as operating and maintenance personnel when the pipeline enters the operating phase. A number of problems are apparent when

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1
2 developing plans for the current Nortran trainees to
3 progress to employment in the operating and maintenance
4 phase of the pipeline.

5 Mr. Virtue earlier discussed
6 Nortran's plans to deal with these. Arctic Gas is in
7 full agreement with these programmes.

8 Arctic Gas will ensure that all
9 northern residents employed in pipeline construction will
10 enjoy benefits and privileges in respect to all employment
11 matters equal to those accorded employees who are not
12 resident and are employed in similar positions.

13 While much of the pipeline con-
14 struction will be seasonal with the bulk of the work
15 being carried out between November and April, significant
16 activities will continue throughout the year in construc-
17 tion and construction related activities at such
18 facilities as wharves, stations and support facilities.
19 Current planning for pipeline construction, as a whole
20 is contemplated continuous employment from the seasonal
21 commencement of construction into December with a rotational
22 leave break at Christmas.

23 The second half of the schedule
24 might commence after the Christmas break and continue
25 through to closing of construction for the season in
26 April or in May.

27 Once northern residents have
28 been hired, Arctic Gas will be flexible in establishing
29 construction work schedules for northern residents in
30 order that community and personal requirements can be

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1 taken into account. In practice, this means that we
2 will make available a variety of rotation schedules for
3 northern residents. Every attempt would be made to
4 employ northern residents on sections of the pipeline as
5 close to their home communities as possible.

6 Arctic Gas will arrange trans-
7 portation for northern resident employees to their home
8 communities on regular or chartered flights for scheduled
9 rotational leaves, and will attempt to arrange the ro-
10 tational leave schedule in a manner which would maximize
11 the use of the aircraft.

12 The company's obligations in
13 respect to the provision of transportation for a northerner
14 will not exceed the cost associated with transporting
15 a southerner out on rotational leave.

16 In additional to the normal
17 indoctrination process, Arctic Gas will ensure that
18 employed northern residents will be provided orientation
19 on matters associated with wage employment. Further,
20 it is intended to offer a counselling service on an on-
21 going basis during construction, with emphasis on the
22 needs of employed northern residents.

23 Orientation will include dis-
24 cussion and instruction on matters such as camp life,
25 fundamentals, environmental concerns, safety, fire training,
26 basic first aid procedures, money handling, motor vehicle
27 driver education, when appropriate.

28 The Nortran experience has
29 clearly indicated the value and necessity of counselling
30 during employment. Arctic Gas will adopt measures to

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1
2 attract northern residents who have had industrial work
3 experience and exposure to work with southern workers
4 and southern management with a view to using such people
5 as counsellors. Such people, after training would act
6 as counsellors for northern residents in both work related
7 and social matters, as well as providing communication
8 and co-ordination between management and northern workers.

9 Mr. Commissioner, I want to
10 reiterate that all these policies and programmes I have
11 discussed require the agreement of unions and contractors,
12 and that Arctic Gas is not in a position to single-handedly
13 assure their implementation. In addition, it goes with-
14 out saying that it would be desirable to have the full
15 co-operation and involvement of the native organizations.

16 Having completed my testimony
17 with respect to the provision of employment opportunities
18 to northern residents during pipeline construction, I
19 would now like to deal with policies and plans that are
20 relevant to this Inquiry with respect to southern employees
21 who will be working in the north.

22 First, Arctic Gas will attempt
23 to ensure, in co-operation with the unions and contractors,
24 that no persons other than northern residents will be
25 accepted for employment should they apply at any location
26 north of the 60th parallel.

27 Arctic Gas intends to give the
28 widest possible publicity to this policy, in order to
29 avoid people coming into the Northwest Territories and
30 the Yukon Territory in the hope of obtaining employment.

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Secondly, Arctic Gas will, in co-operation and with the participation of the contractors and unions involved, have all indoctrination for persons hired in the south, carried out at centers in southern Canada. The process of indoctrination would involve, amongst other things, travel and accommodation arrangements, medical examinations, clothing and equipment checks and union enrollment.

Three, where pre-employment training is required by a southerner hired, this will be done to the greatest extent possible in the south.

Four, all southern hires will be given orientation and safety, fire and survival training at the construction site.

Orientation would include such things as camp life and camp rule. Special emphasis will also be given to an orientation programme for southern hires designed to familiarize them with the northern life style and culture and with an understanding of northern people. This orientation would be handled by a northern counsellor, and without comment, in the camp.

Five, Arctic Gas will provide training and familiarization programmes for all southern personnel, with respect to special northern environmental hazards and with respect to the policy of the company and the applicable governmental regulations designed to protect the environment.

Six, southern employees will be required to take their rotational leave in a southern

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1 location. Details with regard to the movement of per-
2 sonnel, to and from the job site will be handled by
3 the next panel in greater detail.

4 Seven, the policy of Arctic
5 Gas is to have all construction employees living in
6 camps which will exist and operate independent of the
7 near-by communities and on a single status basis.

8 Arctic Gas will actively dis-
9 courage employees from setting up other arrangements
10 such as housekeeping in mobile homes or other temporary
11 accommodation outside of, but in proximity to the con-
12 struction camp, recognizing any such policy to succeed
13 will necessitate that the government formulate and
14 enforce land use controls in the area surrounding the camp.

15 That completes our testimony
16 with respect to construction.

17 WITNESS CARLSON: Mr. Commissioner,
18 while the operation and maintenance concepts of the
19 Arctic Gas project were discussed in detail at an earlier
20 phase of these hearings, I would like to briefly review
21 some of the activities that constitute routine operation
22 and maintenance tasks. This will provide background
23 on the important aspects of a natural gas pipeline
24 operation as it relates to the nature of employment
25 opportunities in the operations and maintenance phase.

26 The northern division will
27 be operated from a divisional head-quarters at Inuvik
28 and three district head-quarters within the division at
29 Inuvik, Norman Wells and Fort Simpson. In order to
30 achieve a safe, efficient and reliable operation of our

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1 pipeline facilities, two factors are of paramount
2 importance. First, detailed operating procedures must
3 be completed to cover every aspect of our field operation
4 before the pipeline facilities are placed into service.

5
6 Secondly, a comprehensive,
7 preventive maintenance programme must also be prepared
8 in advance so that we can operate the pipeline facilities
9 at a peak efficiency with a minimum of unscheduled
10 outages of our equipment.

11 I will expand upon these two
12 important points so that you will have a better under-
13 standing of our operations and maintenance responsibility.

14 Operating procedures for every
15 piece of equipment in our pipeline system will be pre-
16 pared by our operations and maintenance head-quarters
17 staff that will be based in Calgary. These detailed
18 procedures will be based on,

- 19 A. Arctic Gas operating policies.
20 B. Existing regulations and codes which cover the natural
21 gas industry, and
22 C. Technical information made available by the manu-
23 facturers of the equipment.

24 These procedures will be sup-
25 plemented by all of the technical documents necessary
26 to convey to our operations and maintenance field staff
27 our specific requirements in order to achieve a safe,
28 efficient and reliable operation of our pipeline facility.

29 The compressor station facilities,
30 for example, will have procedures prepared which will

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cover the starting, operation and shut-down of all gas compressor and refrigeration equipment. Similarly, procedures will be prepared to cover all other aspects of station operation such as,

- A. Use and operation of all fire-fighting equipment.
- B. Inspection and calibration of instrumentation.
- C. Inspection and testing of safety devices and,
- D. Repair, maintenance and overhaul of equipment.

Also, a comprehensive and complete set of procedures will be prepared for pipeline operation. Included in this group would be procedures to cover emergency conditions, corrosion control, repair of leaks, right of way maintenance and stabilization.

Gas measurement procedures will include instructions for the monitoring of gas movement through the pipeline. Since the measurement must be calibrated periodically to comply with applicable standards and regulations, our procedures will cover in detail the method of inspection and calibration of this equipment.

As mentioned previously, operating procedures will be prepared to cover every aspect of our operation. These are necessary not only to convey our approved ^{operating} policies and practices to our field staff, but to also ensure that our operation complies with Canadian Gas System codes and regulations.

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Whereas our operating procedures will indicate how each task is to be performed, our Preventive Maintenance Programs will define in detail the frequency of all aspects of preventive maintenance. In this regard, our natural gas pipeline operations and maintenance function is not unlike what is in effect at other industrial installations such as refineries, chemical plants, power generating plants, etc. Pumps, motors, compressors, engines, heat exchangers, gauges, valves, buildings, heavy equipment, etc., all require preventive maintenance on a regular basis to ensure a reliable operation.

You will recall our compressor stations are being designed for a remote controlled unattended operation. This concept will require additional monitoring equipment built into the design so that our operating staff will be able to monitor and identify potential operating problems before they occur.

In a completely attended compressor station operation, Preventive Maintenance Programs are scheduled on a daily, weekly, monthly, quarterly, semi-annual and annual basis. In our proposed unattended operation, the only difference with regard to preventive maintenance activities would be the work items that would be in the category of daily maintenance. The frequency of these daily work items would probably be reduced to two or three times weekly after we make the transition from attended to unattended operation. I would expect this transition might take one to two

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1 years after we commence operation of our initial
2 compressor station facilities.

3 It is important to note that
4 although our station facilities will be designed for
5 an unattended remote control operation, they will be
6 visited at least two or three times each week by O & M
7 personnel who will be carrying out the tasks specified
8 in our preventive maintenance programs.

9 The following is a listing of
10 a few examples of the type of work items that are
11 involved in preventive maintenance programs for compressor
12 station equipment.

13 Each time a station is inspected
14 O & M personnel would :

- 15 - inspect plant thoroughly for oil and gas leaks
16 - they would check oil levels
17 - monitor and investigate unusual noise levels in
18 piping and auxiliary equipment using portable vibration
19 equipment
20 - they would observe recording and indicating instru-
21 ment readouts.
22 - and inspect lube and hydraulic oil cooler operation

23 Our weekly preventive mainten-
24 ance work items would include:

- 25 - a check of the operation of temperature recorders
26 and monitors.
27 - inspect and service gas starters
28 - check operation of plant vibration equipment to
29 ensure that it is fully operational and in calibration
30 - they would check out plant fuel gas charts and

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perform maintenance as required

- inspect and service foam fire systems, and,
- service all water treating facilities

Monthly work items could include:

- the servicing, inspection and calibration of plant flow instrumentation.
- test and calibrate temperature alarms and shut-down devices
- inventory lub and hydraulic oil

Quarterly Work Items would

include:

- service, inspection and calibration check on plant vibration and speed monitors
- service and check calibration of ice detectors.

Semi-annual work items would

include:

- a boroscope inspection of gas generator and power turbine
- inspect and service plenum chamber and components within including starter, anti-icing and wash facilities

Annual work items could include:

- inspect and service all plant check valves, regulating valves and relief valves
- inspect and service fuel gas filters, and,
- inspect and service lube oil cooler

Now, these preventive maintenance items represents only a small fraction of the tasks that are routinely handled by Operations and Maintenance personnel on a pre-determined, regular basis at typical gas compressor stations. Similarly, preventive maintenance

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1 will be scheduled for all other pipeline facilities.

2 In addition, Operations and
3 Maintenance personnel will be involved in minor and major
4 overhauls of gas compressor equipment on a regularly
5 scheduled basis as specified by the equipment manufact-
6 er.

7 This brief description of our
8 operating procedures and preventive maintenance programs
9 leads to a couple of additional observations about our
10 proposed operation.

11 First of all, most of the
12 routine activities take place at compressor stations,
13 measurement stations or along the right-of-way remote
14 from the District Headquarters. As a consequence,
15 while all of our Northern Division employees are attached
16 to specific headquarters locations, many of them will
17 spend the major portion of their work schedule away
18 from these central locations.

19 The second factor that is
20 implicit to what I have described, is the extent to
21 which many of these important activities can be described
22 as routine. The expertise in performing these tasks is
23 developed to a great extent by on-the-job exposure
24 as opposed to formal educational qualifications. Although
25 educational and other qualifications are important, the
26 history of our industry has demonstrated quite clearly
27 that the lack of these ideal qualifications has not
28 been an insurmountable detriment to promotion within
29 our industry. In recent years however, as technology
30 has become more sophisticated, the employee who is

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1 lacking some of the basic educational qualifications
2 finds it more of a problem in advancing to more
3 responsible positions.
4

5 I would now like to describe
6 the specific numbers and types of positions that will
7 be available in the Northern Division. Would you
8 please refer to table 2.1.2D which is at the end of
9 my prepared testimony? Mr. Steeves has a supply of
10 additional copies if any are required.

11 As you can see on this table,
12 the Northern Division Headquarters has a permanent
13 staff of nine who are located at Inuvik. The Division
14 Manager and his staff have the responsibility for the
15 entire operation of this Division. Three District
16 Superintendents as listed on this chart report to the
17 Division Superintendent. The left-hand column identifies
18 the various personnel that will be based at each of the
19 District Headquarters. This chart also identifies the
20 build-up of personnel for each District for the first
21 five years of operation. You will notice the totals on
22 the right-hand column for the Northern Division indicate a
23 build-up of personnel from 124 employees to a total of
24 206 for the fifth year of operation.

25 I will now briefly discuss the
26 positions listed for each District as identified in the
27 left-hand column.

28 The District Superintendent
29 has the responsibility for the operations and maintenance
30 of all of the pipeline facilities within the geographical

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limits of his District.

The District Engineer is the senior technical man in the District. His responsibilities include all technical aspects of the operation within the District as they apply to the compressor stations, measurement stations, pipeline and environmental activities.

The next position listed ^{is} the pilot. I think this responsibility is self-explanatory.

The flight engineer maintains the aircraft in the District locations.

The clerical staff have duties which relate to administration, budgets, material control, etc.

The Maintenance supervisor reports to the District Superintendent and is responsible for all preventive maintenance activities within the District.

The foreman reports to the Maintenance Supervisor and is in charge of individual maintenance projects.

The mechanics are generally responsible for maintaining and repairing heavy work equipment.

The operators operate heavy work equipment such as backhoes, bulldozers, low ground pressure vehicles, etc.

The next position listed is welder. These men are qualified pipeline welders whose skills are maintained at a high level of efficiency in

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case their expertise is required for emergency repairs.

Maintenance man is the next position listed. Most of the new hires start in at this position. With experience and additional training, the maintenance men eventually can be promoted to other positions in the field operation.

The chief technician is the senior technician in the District.

The largest single group of personnel within each District are in the technician category. Several disciplines are covered by this position. These include communications, controls, mechanical, gas measurement and corrosion technicians. These men^{are} all responsible to the chief technician.

In conclusion, one important point that can be noted from this brief description of the various positions is the extent to which construction will provide training and experience that is relevant to the acquisition of permanent operating and maintenance jobs. In addition of course, many of the Nortran trainees are currently gaining training and experience in these operating jobs on southern pipelines

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1 MR. STEEVES: Excuse me, Mr.
2 Hollands.

3 Q Mr. Carlson, on page
4 7 of your evidence, you refer -- I think it's page
5 just a minute; no, I'm sorry, the bottom of page 7 and
6 the top of page 8 -- you refer to the history of the
7 industry. Are you referring there to your experience
8 at TransCanada?

9 A Yes, I am,
10 Mr. Steeves.

11 Q Would you explain in
12 more detail?

13 A Yes.

14 Q What the history of the
15 industry has been, so far as employment of people with
16 less than ideal qualifications, directing your evidence
17 specifically to TransCanada.

18 A Yes. Well, the Trans-
19 Canada Pipeline started up in 1956. This is a pipeline
20 system that stretches from the Alberta-Saskatchewan
21 border right through to Montreal and south to two
22 American export points. You would find that many of
23 the employees in the field today are residents from
24 the locations that they are now working in. For
25 example, I can think of the first district east of
26 Alberta, in the Burstall area. The district manager
27 is a country boy who had some -- he had a small amount
28 of technical training and over a period of 20 years he
29 has worked up through the ranks to the position of a
30 senior man in that district, that includes several

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1 compressor stations and two or 300 miles of pipeline,
2 and he is one of several Canadian pipeliners who now
3 has an important position of responsibility in a
4 pipeline company, and he happens to work very close to
5 the town of his birth. We have found that the most
6 reliable employees are those that come from the location
7 that your pipeline runs through. You don't have the
8 problems of people wanting to move back to their home
9 stamping grounds.

10 Q I direct your attention
11 to the statement about recruiting people -- it's at the
12 top of page 8 -- who lack ideal qualifications. What
13 experience has TransCanada had with that?

14 A Well, if I may refer to
15 a note I have here, and it covers my own case for
16 example. Many references have been made to the northern
17 native and his future role in the northern pipeline
18 project. I was fortunate to be a southern trainee.
19 When the large diameter pipeline industry started in
20 Canada in the early '50s, most of us at this time
21 received only on-the-job training without the benefit
22 of a planned formal training program. This on-the-job
23 training was received primarily from American pipeliners
24 who had the experience in design, construction and
25 operation. U.S. citizens were brought to Canada so that
26 they could pass on their knowledge and expertise to
27 Canadians, who showed an interest in this new industry
28 that came to Canada over 25 years ago. The Canadian
29 pipeline industry has had a remarkable growth in the
30 last 2½ decades, and has developed a dynamic base that

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1 is recognized world-wide. I consider it a natural
2 transition for those of us in Canadian pipeline industry
3 to transfer our knowledge and expertise to the northern
4 natives who want to join with us to expand our
5 industry into Northern Canada.

6 The Nortran Training Program
7 is a unique and important first step in this process,
8 and I might add this Nortran Training Program is much
9 more extensive a training program than almost all of
10 us who started up in this industry received before we
11 applied our knowledge and interest to this industry.

12 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, you
13 started out with a degree in engineering, though.

14 A As a matter of fact,
15 Mr. Commissioner, I started out as a summer student --
16 second year engineering summer student, University of
17 Alberta. My first exposure to the pipeline industry
18 was in 1950 and I worked on pipeline construction,
19 which certainly had no bearing to my previous formal
20 training. I think the same applies to most of us
21 who have developed in this industry. Canada did not
22 initially have university training that would enable
23 someone like myself to develop this type of expertise
24 in college. Most of it has been on-the-job, and I
25 sincerely feel that based on what I have seen of the
26 northern native training program, this is a tremendous
27 step in the right direction to prepare all of us for
28 the operations that we have ahead of us.

29 Q Yes, right, right. We've
30 heard about --

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1 A May I add one other point?

2 I possibly should have made this clear earlier, but
3 basic educational requirements that I have seen in
4 evidence at TransCanada Pipelines has been generally
5 a Senior Matriculation type of education. That is a
6 tremendous first step. Any additional technical train-
7 ing that is received beyond a Senior Matric education
8 is certainly an advantage. TransCanada has introduced
9 several training programs in-house and I believe these
10 in-house training programs, coupled with on-the-job
11 experience, probably are as valuable as anything a new
12 employee could get in the pipeline industry.

13 Q Right. Well, we've heard
14 evidence about Nortran and I think we understand it
15 well, and it is obviously in many ways a very fine
16 program.

17 A Could I add one more
18 word about engineers? TransCanada Pipelines has a
19 field operation consisting of seven or 800 employees.
20 Three engineers with professional engineering training
21 make up the total complement of engineers we have in
22 that organization in the field. In each case, this
23 is the area engineer position. So the field is --

24 Q Just for my curiosity,
25 where are they located?

26 A They are located at a
27 divisional headquarters, in TransCanada's case that
28 would equate to our division headquarters or district
29 headquarters. In TransCanada's case, one at Winnipeg,
30 one at Thunder Bay, and one at Maple, Ontario.

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1 Q The Northern Division
2 that these employees of represented of on this chart,
3 would have its headquarters at Inuvik and that would
4 be the headquarters for the whole of the operation north
5 of 60?

6 A Yes sir.

7 Q The gas control centre
8 itself being in Calgary.

9 A Yes.

10 THE COMMISSIONER: O

11 MR. STEEVES: It's 12:20

12 Commissioner.

13 THE COMMISSIONER: Well,
14 as well break for lunch and hear Mr. Hollands and t
15 carry right on with cross-examination.

16 MR. STEEVES: Mr. Commis
17 could I make one remark before we go? Mr. Williams
18 has a commitment, no greater and perhaps less than this
19 one, in Washington. It would assist Mr. Williams if
20 my friends would direct their questions then in cross-
21 examination to Mr. Williams first of all, if they
22 could.

23 THE COMMISSIONER: When does he
24 want to get --

25 MR. STEEVES: When do you have
26 to be in Washington?

27 WITNESS WILLIAMS: Tomorrow
28 afternoon.

29 THE COMMISSIONER: You have to
30 be there tomorrow afternoon?

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A Leave Yellowknife tomorrow.

THE COMMISSIONER: Oh, well.

I'm sure everyone will co-operate. Don't worry.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO 2 P.M.)

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(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, I think we've reached you again, Mr. Holland.

WITNESS HOLLANDS: Is the speaker on, Mr. Commissioner? I guess it is.

THE COMMISSIONER: Pardon me?

A I guess it's on, I wasn't sure.

THE COMMISSIONER: Oh yes, I think you'll --

A Thank you.

Mr. Commissioner, I would now like to discuss operations phase employment in terms of the opportunities it offers various groups of employees. In particular, I will outline the situation as we see it affecting northern residents. This cannot be done in isolation. If we are to be realistic and acknowledge the existence of problems likely to be encountered in attaining northern employment objectives for the operations and maintenance phase.

We can be fairly accurate as to the number and kinds of jobs required to operate and maintain the pipeline as discussed by Mr. Carlson earlier. What is highly uncertain is the degree to which northern residents will be available for or interested in employment. This requires a concurrent look at the employment of southerners in the initial phase of operations and maintenance. While the expanded guidelines impose obligations on Arctic Gas with respect to the employment of northerners, the overall objectives of efficiency and

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1 economy in operating the pipeline would be best served
2 by having all positions filled by northern residents. In
3 this context, we view, as a major problem, the fact there
4 will be competition for resident labour by other projects,
5 companies and government agencies.

6 Further, there will be an
7 enticement for northern students to cut their education
8 to accept construction jobs, some of which will offer
9 high rates of pay for relatively low skill level require-
10 ments.

11 If we do experience difficulty
12 in attracting northern residents with desired levels of
13 academic qualifications, we can accept lower educational
14 standards at the entry level than has been the case in
15 the south. However, we must recognize that this could
16 be a deterrent to advancement to more senior levels in
17 the company.

18 Recognizing that the foregoing
19 could affect our ability to meet our objectives, we can,
20 nevertheless outline Arctic Gas intentions with respect
21 to hiring and training policies, intended orientation
22 and counselling procedures and plans for work schedules
23 and residency requirements.

24 There are some areas related to
25 employment in operations and maintenance similar to, if
26 not identical to those reviewed earlier in the construc-
27 tion phase. Specifically I am referring to the company's
28 intention to continue orientation and counselling pro-
29 grammes and to the commitment to ensure that all northern
30 residents employed are accorded comparable treatment to

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1 southerners employed in similar positions. Therefore,
2 it is not intended to deal with these in detail.

3 First, the hiring policy.

4 During the operations and maintenance phase of the pipe-
5 line, Arctic Gas will seek to preferentially employ,
6 employable northern residents. Arctic Gas will provide
7 for a recruitment and selection function to be carried
8 out in the district offices in Inuvik, Norman Wells and
9 Fort Simpson.

10 The services of Canada Manpower
11 and the Northwest Territories Employment Division will
12 be utilized to bring the job opportunities
13 to the attention of persons in communities at some
14 distances from the district offices. This will provide
15 all northern residents who desire the opportunity of
16 regular employment access to job vacancies for which
17 they might qualify. For seasonal and casual labour
18 required on company maintenance programmes, local
19 residents will be given the first opportunity of
20 employment.

21 To ensure that continuing
22 efforts for both regular and casual hires of northerners
23 are maintained, Arctic Gas will co-operate with govern-
24 ments in arranging training which will prepare local
25 residents for such employment opportunities. In addition,
26 Arctic Gas will encourage vocational programmes related
27 to the industry at the high school level and in the technical
28 trades programmes at A.V.T.C. Fort Smith.

29 Training programmes. An import-
30 ant consideration for Arctic Gas will be to ensure that

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1 the current Nortran trainees have the opportunity for
2 jobs in operations and maintenance on the pipeline in
3 the north and access to further training and development
4 as required.

5
6 Training opportunities for
7 northern residents desiring employment with Arctic Gas
8 will be maintained with the long-term objective of
9 staffing the operations and maintenance department in
10 the north with northern people.

11 Continuing training efforts
12 will be maintained for all personnel in areas such as
13 fire-fighting, safety and first aid, survival and
14 vehicle operating.

15 Arctic Gas will co-operate
16 with government agencies to ensure that northern residents
17 are provided the opportunity of academic upgrading when
18 required, prior to skill training and employment in
19 operations and maintenance.

20 Northern residents, when employed
21 by Arctic Gas will be provided with orientation programmes
22 designed to acquaint them with work habits and life
23 styles of other workers in the company and the industry
24 and the opportunities and responsibilities associated
25 with a wage economy. Arctic Gas will also make available
26 counselling for northern employees and their families
27 to help them adapt to their requirements of wage employ-
28 ment.

29 For southern workers assigned
30 to the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, Arctic Gas

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1 will provide orientation programmes designed to familiarize
2 them with northern culture and an understanding of
3 northern people.

4 Arctic Gas will provide training
5 and familiarization to all northern personnel in regard
6 to environmental hazards and government regulations for
7 protecting the environment.

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In addition to those training plans noted previously, it will be necessary for Arctic Gas to arrange special programs designed to train technicians. This training will provide for on-the-job training, specialized training conducted by equipment vendors and related theory sessions at government training institutions. In particular, I should emphasize that the Canadian Gas Association has for many years offered a correspondence course in the fundamentals of natural gas transmission with emphasis on maintenance and operations. We will encourage participation in this program.

Manpower requirements for operations and maintenance must be coordinated with these special programs to provide orderly progress from training to employment. Northerners will be given the opportunity to participate in these special programs.

3. Considerations with respect to northern lifestyle. Arctic Gas has stated many times its intention of according equal treatment to all employees regarding conditions of work and company benefits. We have further stated our intention of giving preference to northerners when hiring for jobs in the north. Consistent with these two stated positions, Arctic Gas intends to provide employment flexibility and counselling for northern employees, in order to assist those northern residents who desire to make a transition from their present lifestyle to accommodate involvement in a wage economy.

The following illustrates the

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1 type of flexible policies we believe will be helpful
2 to northern employees--particularly at start-up of
3 operations.

4 (a) Arctic Gas will provide jobs for operations and
5 maintenance personnel desirous of a mixed lifestyle in
6 which pursuit of employment in a wage economy and
7 continuation of traditional occupational pursuits related
8 to the family and community can be accommodated.

9 (b) A transportation policy which would provide benefits
10 to northerners who choose to live in communities
11 in the Northwest Territories and Yukon other than District
12 Headquarters, comparable to those benefits provided
13 southern employees who may commute and rotate on
14 work schedules to an established southern location.

15 (c) Innovative and flexible payroll arrangements,
16 designed to meet the needs of the individual and his
17 family. Encouragement and assistance in ways and means
18 to increase the propensity to save and invest for the
19 long-term benefits possible in a wage economy.

20 4. Work schedules and residency. The employment
21 objective of Arctic Gas is to man all the pipeline
22 district locations in a manner similar to that employed
23 in existing large gas transmission pipelines -- that is,
24 to have a stable work force consisting of employees at
25 all job levels who make their permanent homes reasonably
26 close to the work place.

27 This may not be practical
28 at time of start-up for a number of reasons. Some of
29 the reasons are related to considerations of community
30 growth and development, which will be dealt with by a

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1 panel. What I will deal with here are things that
2 appear to influence the demand and supply of qualified
3 persons to fill the jobs available, and the degree to
4 which individual preferences about residency and
5 work schedules can be accommodated.

6 We have said that Arctic Gas
7 will have in excess of 200 permanent and continuous
8 positions in pipeline operations and maintenance north
9 of 60°. We have also accepted a long-term goal of
10 filling all positions north of 60° with northern
11 residents and to this end will cooperate with govern-
12 ment in training northern residents to qualify for
13 these positions.

14 It is our opinion that it will
15 require several years for new hires in the industry to
16 aspire to the senior positions at the Division level.
17 This is true of anyone who is employed and inexperienced
18 in pipeline operations. It may be more difficult for
19 northerners due to cultural background, traditional
20 lifestyle and lack of familiarity with a wage oriented
21 society. A second factor influencing the attainment of
22 a "normal" operation is the willingness of the employee
23 to make his permanent residence in one of the three
24 district office locations.

25 A third factor referred to
26 earlier will be the degree to which we can attract
27 larger numbers of northern residents to a "special"
28 training program to supplement those who will have been
29 trained in Nortran and prepared to go north again.

30 It is the considered opinion

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1 of Arctic Gas that we will have to establish our work
2 schedules for permanent and continuous positions to
3 accommodate four kinds of employees at start-up and for
4 some time into the future.

5 To start up any major installa-
6 tion requires highly qualified personnel at all skill
7 levels from technician to management. Some will come
8 from existing pipeline companies on loan; some will
9 come as permanent employees from other pipelines and
10 related industry. It is highly probable that most of
11 the latter group would prefer to maintain a permanent
12 residence in a southern location such as Edmonton and
13 rotate on a work schedule similar to that presently
14 used in the exploration operations in the north.

15 In the initial operations
16 stages, rotation appears to be a preferable arrangement
17 insofar as the company is concerned. In fact, the
18 company would require a rotational arrangement for
19 loanees whose term of employment would probably not
20 exceed two years.

21 A second group of employees
22 filling permanent and continuous positions will be
23 northern residents who have been trained under Nortran
24 or who are direct hires, and who prefer to maintain
25 their permanent residence in their home community and
26 rotate on the same work schedule established for
27 southern hires. There may be a few who wish to rotate
28 and whose home community is remote. In such cases,
29 it might be practical to establish a more extended work
30 schedule as we discussed previously.

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
In Chief

1
2 A third group of employees
3 filling permanent and continuous positions will be
4 those who would prefer to make their home in one of the
5 district office communities and for whom housing
6 will be made available.

7 A fourth small senior manage-
8 ment group of employees will be required to make their
9 home in one of the district office communities from
10 the commencement of employment.
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Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
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Arctic Gas has not studied work schedules in any depth at this time, but intends to have concluded studies indicating the range of possibilities before operations commence. The ultimate mix of the four groups of employees at time of startup will substantially influence the degree of flexibility attainable in work schedules.

In conclusion, Mr. Commissioner, I would like to emphasize Arctic Gas' belief in and support of Nortran. This program has the solid support of all seven participating companies and probably offers for the present the best solution to integration of employable northern residents into employment in the petroleum and natural gas industry. To a major degree, our ability to fulfill commitments I have been outlining depends on recruitment, selection and training organizations like Nortran.

Thank you.

MR. STEEVES: This panel is now available for cross-examination.

MR. GOUDGE: I think Mr. Bayly is going to lead off, sir.

MR. BAYLY: Before I begin, Mr. Commissioner, I have a number of documents here to file as exhibits, as I said I would at the close of proceedings last week, and they are documents which I've said Dr. Usher would be available for cross-examination upon when he gives his evidence. I'll give you the titles of these and then give them to Miss Hutchinson when she returns.

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Cross-Exam by Bayly

One is from a volume called:
"Regional Impact of a Northern Gas Pipeline,
Volume 6,"
and it's entitled:
"Social and Economic Impacts on Native Northerners
of Short-Term Wage Employment."
Another is,
"Evaluating Country Food in the Northern Native
Economy."

Another is, Volume 3 of the
Renewable Resources project,
"Historical Statistics, Approximating Fur,
Fish, and Game Harvest Within Inuit Lands
of the Northwest Territories and the Yukon,
1915 - 1974."

Another is,
"Eskimo Land Use and Occupancy in the Western
Arctic,"
all of these documents by Dr. Usher.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BAYLY:

Q Mr. Trusty, if we can
begin with you, sir, I am referring to your evidence on
page 3. You talk about employment associated with
a significant amount of post-construction cleanup and
restoration, and you don't elaborate on what that kind
of work would be. I wonder if you could detail the
sorts of things you anticipate and whether that would
be work that might be available for northern residents?

WITNESS TRUSTY: I think Mr.

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Williams would be the more appropriate person to answer
2 the question, except I would like to note that the word
3 "outside firm" means outside Arctic Gas, it doesn't
4 necessarily mean outside the Territory.

5 Q I understand. Mr.
6 Williams?

7 WITNESS WILLIAMS: Mr. Bayly,
8 the first year or two following construction, a fairly
9 substantial amount of maintenance work is required on
10 the right-of-way and ⁱⁿ the high ice content permafrost
11 soils there will be subsidence, and in some cases the
12 subsidence will no doubt be below natural ground and
13 materials will have to be brought in to fill that
14 subsidence up, back up to natural ground level. No
15 doubt there will be maintenance work on slopes, erosion
16 control measures that will require repairing, things
17 of this nature; reseeded where a good catch hasn't
18 been obtained in the first instance.

19 Q So that would involve
20 operators as well as general laborers and pilots
21 probably.

22 A Yes sir.

23 Q And can you think of
24 any other categories of employee that might be
25 involved?

26 A Equipment operators and
27 labourers are the main ones, Mr. Bayly. There could be
28 some others but I just can't think of any other
29 major category.

30 Q All right. Now, Mr. Trusty,

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 when you gave your evidence you said that you anticipate
2 that this would be contracted to outside firms. What
3 sort of assurances have you from firms other than the
4 gas companies themselves that they will follow the
5 northern employment policies that you have suggested?

6 WITNESS TRUSTY: Do you mean
7 an outside firm that contracts for this kind of work,
8 what assurance is there that they would have a preferen-
9 tial northern hiring policy?

10 Q Yes.

11 A None that I am aware of.
12 I might add, though, that we would hope that some of
13 this work -- and Mr. Williams might confirm this or
14 deny it -- but some of this work would be very suitable
15 for northern contractors because it would be relatively
16 small contractors compared to the sorts of contracts
17 involved in a lot of the pipeline construction itself.
18 So to that extent we would expect there to be northern
19 residents directly involved.

20 (EMPLOYMENT PANEL 3 MARKED EXHIBIT 653)

21 ("REGIONAL IMPACT OF A NORTHERN GAS PIPELINE"

22 VOLUME 6, February 1974 MARKED EXHIBIT 654)

23 ("EVALUATING COUNTRY FOOD IN THE NATIVE ECONOMY"

24 BY P.J. USHER MARKED EXHIBIT 655)

25 ("HISTORICAL STATISTICS APPROXIMATING FUR, FISH
26 & GAME HARVESTS WITHIN INUIT LANDS, 1915-1974,"

27 BY P.J. USHER MARKED EXHIBIT 656)

28 "ESKIMO LAND USE & OCCUPANCY IN WESTERN ARCTIC"

29 BY P.J. USHER MARKED EXHIBIT 657)

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 I don't want
2 to comment on that.

3 Q And Mr. Trusty, or Mr.
4 Williams, how do you come up with the half million
5 dollar figure per year for casual labour? It appears
6 as though you were anticipating the rate of restoration
7 that will have to be done, the ammount of slope failure,
8 permafrost degradatiop reseeding etc.

9 A Well, first of all, my
10 understanding is those are separable categories, they're
11 not the same thing. Mr. Williams might comment further.

12 Q I see, are you saying
13 that the half million dollars, annual casual labour
14 is something apart from the restoration that you've
15 referred to earlier in the paragraph?

16 A Yes sir.

17 Q Is that your understanding
18 Mr. Williams?

19 WITNESS CARLSON : Mr. Bayly ,
20 I could possibly add to that. The O. & M costs show
21 a figure of 150,000 per district for casual labour. This
22 would be over and above the type of activity that Mr.
23 Trusty -- Mr. Williams has been talking about.

24 Q And that comes up to
25 450,000 for the three districts?

26 A That's the prior to escalated
27 cost I believe.

28 Q Yes, and those then are
29 something other than restoration and perhaps you can
30 tell us what they might be?

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 A I'm afraid, Mr. Bayly,
2 that number was determined prior to my joining Arctic
3 Gas. I recognize it as a number, but it was a number
4 that the operating and maintenance sub-committee -- this
5 included members from sponsor companies, felt should
6 be added to the operations and maintenance costs.

7 WITNESS TRUSTY: Mr. Bayly,
8 my memory of some of the discussions surrounding that
9 number were things like periodic paint-up and clean-up of
10 the compressor station site, and maintenance jobs that
11 are not included in the strict O & M job categories
12 that Mr. Carlson outlined earlier. In other words, they
13 are jobs associated with keeping everything in good
14 order and working condition, apart from the specific
15 equipment and the kinds of jobs that Mr. Carlson was
16 talking about.

17 Q So they would -- you
18 would have 150, \$10,000.00 jobs or 300, \$5,000.00 jobs
19 per year, whatever they might be, involved in maintenance
20 that is not included in the category positions?

21 A Yes. This was as an
22 alternative to having a larger O & M staff permanently
23 on board. In other words, there were felt to be jobs,
24 things to be done that were not of a permanent year
25 round type and therefore did not warrant full time
26 staff, but rather would be better contracted out to
27 individuals or filled by hiring people on a part-time
28 basis when required.

29 Q Would you anticipate
30 these would be employed by Arctic Gas directly or

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 sub-contracted either from inside or outside the North-
2 west Territories?

3 A Well, I think there is
4 flexibility there, Mr. Bayly and I don't think a firm
5 determination has been made one way or the other. I
6 think that if an outside contractor in the Northwest
7 Territories was staffed and prepared to take on this
8 kind of work that Arctic Gas would certainly entertain
9 the possibility of doing this on a contract basis.

10 Q And you can't say beyond
11 the fact that it's maintenance and may include painting
12 and cleaning up some of the sites, as required, how
13 skilled or unskilled these positions might have to be?

14 A It could include more
15 skilled things like making sure the air strips at
16 compressor stations are in good condition, in which case
17 it could have a requirement then for some operators
18 and skilled jobs to do with heavy equipment. Mr. Carlson
19 might want to comment further.

20 WITNESS CARLSON: The only
21 other area I could think of, Mr. Bayly, would be the
22 release of the permanent staff for their annual vacation.
23 This is a standard practice that southern pipeline
24 companies employ, and quite often summer students, for
25 example, are provided with jobs for the two to three
26 months vacation period to take care of the vacation
27 situation of the permanent employees.

28 Q Is that a job --

29 A Well, I think I could
30 define that position as a maintenance man. A type of

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 position, if Arctic Gas opted to employ the men on a
2 temporary basis as opposed to contracting work out.

3 Q Are you telling us that
4 we would expect to find these jobs, that you've described
5 earlier, providing two or three months vacation per
6 year or is that something I just --

7 A Yes, if you take the
8 70 employees you would have a rotational problem
9 and you -- it could very well take you two or three
10 months to -- or more, to rotate the people so that
11 vacations can be obtained in the summer months.

12 Q Well, if you were hiring
13 casual people to fill in for vacationing employees, I
14 take it they could only fit into the categories where
15 no special skills are required. You'd want to rotate
16 from other areas of your pipeline operation for your
17 more skilled operators and technicians.

18 A We'd probably rotate the
19 technicians from other districts, but there are a fair
20 number of jobs in the maintenance category in each
21 district and those would be the positions that would
22 be filled by temporary hires, during that two or three
23 month period.

24 Q And would you then be
25 looking for people with the senior matriculation levels
26 to fulfill those temporary positions?

27 A I don't think that's
28 necessary, no sir.

29 Q But if you were aiming
30 it at summer students you might be looking at people in

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 that area.

2 A Yes. Two or three years
3 engineering or accounting or history or whatever. Students
4 of that type ^{have filled} positions similar to maintenance men
5 who have very little formal education in comparison. I
6 mean, grade 8 to 10 and that sort of thing.

7 Q And that those people
8 fulfilled -- if those people filled those positions, it
9 might well be that some of them, anyway, would come
10 from southern Canada rather than northern Canada as
11 we don't have very many engineering students or history
12 majors in the Northwest Territories.

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Trusty, Hollands
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 A I guess I should not
2 have referred to engineering students. I have a
3 tendency of showing my stripes.

4 No, it certainly isn't necessary
5 for engineering students to fill that category. I
6 would assume anyone with an interest in expanding their
7 experience, whether they have limited formal education
8 or technical education in addition to senior matric
9 or even college students, they all would fit that
10 category.

11 Q What about an off-duty
12 trapper with a grade five education? Would he be
13 able to fit into any of these jobs?

14 A I would think so. Yes.

15 Q All right and what
16 proportion of them would you imagine -- in the mainten-
17 ance man category?

18 A Yes, maintenance man.

19 Q Right. Now just going
20 back a page, Mr. Trusty, there was one comment you
21 made with regard to levels of activity. It appears that
22 your figures for Hay River are better developed than
23 they are for other areas. Is there any reason for that?
24 Did you concentrate on Hay River because it's a staging
25 area or did you just start at that end of the line,
26 working your way northward?

27 WITNESS TRUSTY: No sir.

28 As you are aware, there have been changes in plans
29 associated with Hay River and so there have been changes
30 in terms of some of the estimates. In addition, at the

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 earlier stage when Exhibit 14.c was being put together,
2 the transportation function in general, the estimates
3 were separable from the estimates of manpower employed
4 in pipeline construction and since then, there has been a
5 certain amount of internalizing of those estimates.
6 Certain of the equipment supply functions are now built
7 into the Canadian Arctic Gas manpower estimates for
8 construction and transportation figures. At an
9 earlier point in time they weren't so built in. So
10 there has been a certain hardening of the information
11 as a result, and that all I was referring to.

12 Q All right and but, that's
13 not in specific areas. You would have the same kinds
14 of figures for Inuvik or Fort Simpson?

15 A That's right. Yes.
16 For example, we'll be coming back with much more specific
17 figures -- better figures, I think in the producer end.
18 So for the delta, we'll be presenting numbers a little
19 later that are much better estimates than these earlier
20 estimates that were used in 14.c.

21 As you may recall in Section
22 14.c, the training program exhibit, there was an
23 appendix that had been prepared by Dr. Lacey that
24 included the estimates for gas plant construction and
25 producer activity generally. Those estimates were
26 built into Section 14.c at that time.

27 Since then, the producers have
28 made more direct inputs to us with their own and I
29 think therefore better estimates of what is involved
30 in the whole delta producer end. Those ^{we} will be coming

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 forward with later.

2 Q All right. Now, when
3 you say you are coming forward with those, can I take
4 it from you or your counsel that they will be presented
5 to this Inquiry or --

6 A They will be sir; phase
7 five -- or fifth panel rather.

8 Q Right. I'm not allowed
9 to refer to phase five.

10 A Yes, I realize that.

11 Q Now if we can turn to
12 page six of your evidence, and the second paragraph,
13 you give us an idea of the number of men you would
14 anticipate requiring and the man-year estimates as
15 well. What I am concerned with from the point of view
16 of the individual worker is how long does the average
17 job last in your anticipation?

18 A Turn to Mr. Williams for
19 that.

20 WITNESS WILLIAMS: I'm sorry
21 Mr. Bayly, I was looking at something else at the
22 time. Would you mind repeating it?

23 Q Mr. Williams -- yes.

24 A I apologize.

25 Q I'm referring to page
26 six of Mr. Trusty's evidence and he outlines in the
27 second paragraph of that page, the number of men
28 required and the number of man-years for the two seasons
29 1979-80 or 1979 and 1980. What I am concerned with
30 is, how long do you project the various categories of jobs

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 to last. I realize how many man-years it breaks down
2 to, but for the average construction worker who lines
3 up from Inuvik or elsewhere to get a job, how long a
4 job can he expect in that construction season? How
5 many months?
6

7 A On pipeline work, four
8 to five months, Mr. Bayly. On the civil construction
9 work, the constructing of the airstrips and gravel
10 pads would be roughly the same period of time. Those
11 are generally done in the winter. The summer work is
12 mainly the construction of wharves and stock-pile sites
13 near the river or the coastline, whatever the case may
14 be and the unloading of materials -- the stockpiling
15 of materials would take place during the navigational
16 season. So, it varies from crew to crew.

17 Q Would you anticipate
18 somebody being able to get a job that they could think
19 of as being permanent at least during the years of
20 construction? Would they ^{be} able to shift from a winter
21 to a summer part of the operation with relative ease?

22 A Yes, I would expect so.
23 I wouldn't say that there would be no break at all, Mr.
24 Bayly. But in the --

25 Q Well there would be
26 understandable breaks of break-up and freeze-up --

27 A Break-up and freeze-up
28 right. Other than that, yes I could see continual
29 employment except for those periods.

30 Q Would that be within
regions or would a person have to anticipate moving

Trusty, Hollands
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 from his area to another area in order to continue
2 working?

3 A Well, it's agreed--

4 Q I realize it's a general
5 question and it may depend on whether he is an operator,
6 a truck driver or a clearer.

7 A No, they are primarily
8 camp jobs Mr. Bayly, and I would see some movement
9 required. Yes.

10 Q That would be from spread
11 to spread or from spread to summer construction sites?

12 A Or from stockpile in
13 the summer to a spread in the winter and it could be
14 many miles apart. Not necessarily, but it could
15 be if things worked out that way for the particular
16 individual.

17 Q Would you anticipate
18 overlap between the seasons of jobs which might make
19 it difficult for a person to move from one to another,
20 so that if he continued to the end of winter construction
21 season, he might find it difficult to get on a summer
22 crew because the positions might all be filled?
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Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 A Only to a very small
2 degree would I see much overlap.

3 Q You anticipate a real
4 break in your operation at freezeup and breakup, which
5 would allow a person to apply for one of the jobs in
6 the other seasons.

7 A Yes sir, certainly for
8 the main part of the work there will be some small
9 operations that no doubt will go on in that period,
10 but the bulk of the work will not go on in freezeup and
11 breakup seasons.

12 Q So with the exception of
13 those two seasons, it might be possible for some portion
14 of the northern work force to anticipate continuous
15 employment for the number of years that are involved
16 in construction of the pipeline.

17 A Yes sir.

18 Q Now, Mr. Trusty, as I
19 go through your evidence I come to page 8, the second
20 paragraph. Now, in the various operating headquarters
21 I take it you anticipate providing staff accommodation
22 for the Arctic Gas employees who will be employed in
23 these various centres -- Inuvik, Fort Simpson, and
24 Norman Wells?

25 WITNESS TRUSTY: Mr. Bayly,
26 as Mr. Hollands pointed out initially at the start of
27 operations there will be different classes of employees
28 so that housing won't necessarily be required for all
29 employees; but certainly some sort of accommodation
30 more similar to a transient facility would be required.

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 We will be -- that is part of the evidence of the fifth
2 panel, and we'll certainly be going into that in some
3 detail. The options that are available and the con-
4 siderations that we've made so far with respect to that;
5 the one point I would make most definitely at this
6 point in time is that it is Arctic Gas' intention,
7 whether for people who are permanently resident in the
8 community or for those who are rotating in for some
9 period, to ensure that housing is provided as an
10 augment to the supply and not to either rent or buy
11 the existing housing stock.

12 Q Do you anticipate
13 having houses built for Arctic Gas or building them
14 yourselves?

15 A Or some sort of central
16 facility that provides housing for people who are
17 rotating in and out, and therefore are on a single
18 status basis when they're on the job.

19 Q Would you anticipate
20 the Arctic Gas organization building their own accommo-
21 dation with their own work force, or hiring local people
22 to do the construction?

23 A I would anticipate the
24 latter, but we'll come to that more definitely in
25 the fifth panel.

26 Q On page 13 of your
27 evidence you create a model which you say differs from
28 the boom-bust employment situation, and you've outlined
29 that for us. I want to suggest to you that the
30 model assumes a coincidence between local people getting

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 into long-term employment and people from the south
2 or elsewhere taking up the temporary employment. Am
3 I fair in saying that it is based on that to a large
4 extent?

5 A No sir.

6 Q All right, and if it
7 doesn't happen, you would anticipate then that the
8 outsiders will stay.

9 A No sir.

10 Q You would anticipate then
11 that they will be replaced by northerners during their
12 term of their employment at some point.

13 A The point that's made in
14 the testimony, sir, is that there certainly in that
15 model, as you call it, there is seen to be a requirement
16 for northern residents to probably have to shift the
17 kind of employment they're involved in; so that when
18 say there's a long-term base, we're not saying that
19 the precise job starts during construction and continues
20 into the long-term. What we are saying is that jobs
21 in the general sense, there's a base load of jobs
22 created by the project below the peak that will have
23 to be met by transient people brought into the south
24 and taken out again. The local person may find that
25 during construction he's working on pipeline construc-
26 tion and then has to shift to perhaps working for the
27 producers in the delta area, or working in pipeline
28 operations jobs. So that we foresee in this, as you
29 call it model, a changing in what the person is doing.
30 The point of the presentation being that the jobs are

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 created and are there. Does that --

2 Q What I'm concerned with
3 is how this differs from the normal boom-bust type of
4 situation. I realize there will be some people who
5 either come in and stay, or people who are in this part
6 of the country to begin with, who will take up some of
7 these jobs, and therefore you may not have ghost towns
8 in the sense of places where nobody lives, but it
9 appears that you will have a very heavy peak when there
10 will be a lot of people in to service the construction
11 phase, whether they be restaurateurs or people with
12 caterpillar tractor businesses, and that when you pull
13 out there is going to be perhaps not enough industry
14 around to support the various activities that have
15 been started, and in that sense you will have at least
16 a partial bust.

17 A Well, I don't agree with
18 that but let me go through it.

19 Q I just want to know why,
20 because it appears that you've outlined for me the
21 classical boom-bust situation, and I want to know how
22 it differs.

23 A Let me go through it in
24 steps. The first consideration, I think, is that
25 unlike some types of construction projects the construc-
26 tion of a transmission facility of this type makes
27 possible a continuing activity at the producing end.
28 Apart from -- let me back off -- if you didn't have
29 a producing end for some reason, and you built the pipe-
30 line and then it only took 200 people to operate it,

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 I would say then you get much more of a boom-bust
2 kind of situation, and that's what I call boom-bust.
3 It's like building a highway, and the operating and
4 maintenance staff is really very low compared to the
5 number of people required to construct it; but with
6 a transmission facility of this type, it makes possible
7 a development particularly in the delta region that
8 wouldn't be possible otherwise and that involves a
9 very high level of continuing employment.

10 Q You're talking about
11 exploration and the operation of building a gas line.

12 A That's correct, and I
13 think the evidence in Alberta indicates very clearly
14 the kind of ongoing development or stability, if you
15 like, that can be put in place by the initiation of
16 this sort of primary resource extraction process.

17 The second point I would make
18 is that the question of how much service activity is
19 built up during pipeline construction and related
20 to pipeline construction is very much a function of
21 how aggressive the local procurement activity is, and --

22 Q Would you explain that
23 phrase, "the local procurement activity"?

24 A Sure. If there was
25 a very aggressive approach to procuring things locally,
26 that it is in effect a hot house approach that said,
27 "We'll create as many new industries as we possibly can
28 to service this pipeline construction in the north,
29 or we'll get existing industries to expand as much as
30 they possibly can," and either Arctic Gas intentionally

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 or through stipulations, purchases a large bulk of its
2 requirements through those organizations and then
3 construction ends, they collapse because there isn't the
4 ongoing market. I call that an overly aggressive
5 procurement policy. In my view, the appropriate thing
6 to do is to have local procurement during construction
7 matched to what the ongoing market is going to be like,
8 so that a firm can expand at a healthy rate. If that
9 is done, and if it isn't overly aggressive, then there
10 is no reason for those firms to collapse after pipe-
11 line construction.

12 The other point I would mention
13 is when you use a term like "restauranters", it implies
14 ~~to me~~ that you see construction workers, the transients
15 who are brought out -- brought in from the south to
16 work on construction, impacting in the communities in
17 the sense of buying goods and services. We don't see
18 that, and we'll come to that in the next panel and
19 explain why we don't see that.

20 So again I would say that
21 during construction that peak, if you like, on my chart
22 should not create demands in the north that lead to
23 business collapse or business decline following con-
24 struction.

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 THE COMMISSIONER: You are
2 proposing Mr. Trusty that the workers brought from
3 southern Canada to build the pipeline should not be
4 buying goods and services in the north. The northern
5 society and the northern economy will not be affected
6 by the influx of workers from southern Canada to build
7 the pipeline. The northern society will be, so to speak,
8 insulated from the impact of that influx of workers
9 and the northern economy and northern business will not
10 reap the benefit of their presence and their receipt
11 of cash from employment on the pipeline?

12 A Well --

13 Q I just want to know if
14 that's the broad line of things.

15 A In general sir, except
16 I really must make a distinction.

17 Q Yes.

18 A We will be showing what
19 we consider to be a very healthy growth picture,
20 particularly for the major communities. But that growth
21 is tied much more to the permanent on-going jobs than
22 it is to the construction workers themselves who come in
23 from southern Canada, build the pipeline and go out
24 again.

25 Q Oh, I understand that.

26 A O.K. My personal view is
27 that, yes, the communities should be insulated as much
28 as possible from those transient workers who come in and
29 go out again and that the northern business expansion
30 should much ^{be} more tied to the activities that are going

Trusty, Hollands
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 to be supportable in the future and the evidence we
2 will bring I think indicates that that is a very, very
3 healthy growth pattern. In fact, it may a growth
4 pattern that itself needs to be modified through
5 appropriate policies, and we'll be talking to some of
6 the options we see about that. But there are those
7 two separate aspects to it.

8 Q All right. Well, let's --

9 A Now, the other point I
10 should note is that that's not as easy in the Hay
11 River area because of the staging activity, and that's
12 the one community where I think you don't get the same
13 potential for insulation during construction.

14 Q Well, because a great deal
15 that will be going on there won't be under your direct
16 auspices so to speak.

17 A Well, and to the extent
18 that is is under our auspices the camp would be
19 located literally in the community, and there is very
20 little you could do then to insulate. You don't have
21 geography working in your favor if you like, in terms
22 of keeping people separate from the community.

23 Q That's interesting. Your
24 proposal about flying the workers from the south in
25 and out, because that is a pattern established for instance
26 by Pan Arctic. The Science Council, in its report on
27 northern development has urged that consideration be
28 given to the rotating of workers in these capital
29 intensive northern industrial projects in and out from
30 the south by air. That has some interesting implications

Trusty, Hollands
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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 in terms of the establishment of new settlements -- new
2 permanent settlements in the north and in terms of
3 the long-term demographic pictures of the north.

4 I'm not asking you to comment.
5 It's a thought that has occurred to me as we've gotten
6 into this.

7 A Yes, I must say I don't
8 follow the point about new settlements.

9 Q Well, you would have
10 presumably people coming in to develop projects who
11 wouldn't be coming in to make the north a permanent
12 home.

13 A -- their home, yes.

14 Q It seems to me that
15 would militate in the long run against establishment
16 of new settlements.

17 A Oh yes.

18 Q --permanent settlements.

19 A O.K. I am with you now.
20 That's right. I think it does have that effect, yes.

21 Q It also has implications
22 in terms of the long-term demographic picture.

23 A Yes.

24 Q -- as regards the
25 population balance between native and non-native people.

26 A Yes sir, it does. That's
27 right.

28 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes.

29 MR. BAYLY: I take it, before
30 we leave this Mr. Trusty, that this precludes a large

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 number of people -- or the possibility of a large number
2 of people coming in to the western Arctic when they are
3 assured that there will be a pipeline in anticipation
4 for it and therefore becoming, in your definition
5 "northerners" for the purpose of seeking employment and
6 going home to Norman Wells rather than Edmonton.

7 A Well Mr. Bayly, it depends
8 on what you mean first of all by "a large number". But,
9 in my view, the evidence that we will bring on the
10 growth that we think will result from the permanent
11 activities, the ones that are going to go on well into
12 the future, that in my mind that is a large number.
13 We'll come to that in some detail. That will result
14 in some population increase, particularly in the major
15 communities.

16 What we are talking about here
17 is that very much larger number of people required
18 to actually construct the pipeline and the gas plants.

19 Q What you are saying is
20 you are trying to bring as many of them in on a temporary
21 basis from the south?

22 A That is correct. That is
23 correct.

24 Q I take it that you have
25 taken into consideration the evidence that has been
26 given in the various larger communities and in particular
27 in the Mackenzie Valley where a lot of people have
28 given evidence that they have mortgaged their back
29 teeth in order to get into the communities to provide
30 those things and make their fortunes out of the

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 construction of the pipeline?

2 A Yes sir. In our view,
3 the opportunities will certainly be there for them
4 to get their teeth back.

5 THE COMMISSIONER: That's a
6 metaphor I have never heard. Did you say "mortgage
7 your back teeth?"

8 MR. BAYLY: That's what I
9 said sir, yes.

10 THE COMMISSIONER: That must
11 be a northern expression.

12 MR. BAYLY: Actually, I think
13 I just made it up.

14 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, let's
15 see if it catches on.

16 MR. BAYLY: Ask Mr. Fraser to
17 popularize it.

18 You've referred to having
19 learned from the Alyeska experience, and if I understand
20 the situation there, when Alyeska was at the stage that
21 Arctic Gas is at the present, they had estimated for
22 a smaller number of people being attracted into Alaska
23 by their pipeline than in actual fact were attracted.
24 If I recall the number it was somewhere between six and
25 seven thousand. Is that your --

26 A No sir. I think you have
27 gotten two totally different things confused.

28 Q All right. Well you set
29 me straight Mr. Trusty, because I don't want to be
30 confused summing up --

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 A I think the first point
2 is that the evidence of Mr. Boorkman and the Weinstains
3 was that Alaska didn't really estimate the in-migration,
4 period. They simply didn't plan for it as a State.
5 No real thought was given to that in-migration wave
6 that was generated by the project. That has nothing
7 to do with the six or seven thousand number. I think
8 that refers to the conversation between the Commissioner
9 and the witnesses about Alyeska's employment estimates.

10 Q All right. But that
11 was the figure as I understand they estimated in Alyeska
12 in the company itself that there would be somewhere
13 between six and seven thousand people coming in to be
14 employed on the pipeline?

15 A I think their first
16 estimate was more in the order of eight but --

17 Q All right and in actual
18 fact, some 24,000 people were employed on the pipeline
19 up to date. Is that correct?

20 A Yes sir.

21 Q Now --

22 A --at the peak point.

23 Q At the peak point, yes.

24 Now, what did they do wrong to under-estimate by a
25 factor of three or so?

26 A Well, I think we mentioned
27 some of the factors that were involved and I will
28 certainly turn this over to Mr. Williams in a moment.
29 But let me just reiterate the points that were made
30 the other day about that. My understanding from talking

Trusty, Hollands
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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 with one of the execution contractors in Alaska was
2 that a very big factor was the mile by mile approval
3 process. That played hell with schedules and therefore
4 had an effect on manning and so on.

5 The other factors were
6 related to the pipeline design and construction of the
7 haul road and so on, and the fact that there was the
8 above-ground below-ground combination and the labor
9 intensiveness of that I think was under-estimated.

10 Mr. Boorkman made the point
11 that the State really pushed Alyeska to pour it on as
12 it were, in order to get revenues flowing which the state
13 badly needed. Those were the main points that were in
14 evidence the other day, but Mr. Williams may want to
15 comment more.

16 Q Mr. Williams, you and I
17 have discussed this before I think when we talked about
18 the problems involved in getting behind, one of the
19 solutions being to add employees when you are behind
20 in the spread and want to make it in the season that
21 you pre-determined in your schedule that you should
22 arrive at a certain point at a certain time.

23 Do you feel that the figures
24 that Arctic Gas is projecting now have taken that into
25 consideration, the possibility of needing a large number
26 of more workers than you presently see?

27 WITNESS WILLIAMS: Well before
28 I answer that Mr. Bayly, I am not sure where the six
29 or the eight thousand number came from, that is, at what
30 time that number was developed.

Trusty, Hollands
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 THE COMMISSIONER: That was
2 what Mr. Boorkman said Alyeska's estimate was of the
3 number of employees it would be hiring to build the
4 pipeline. But he didn't tell us, as I recall his
5 evidence, exactly when they offered that estimate. But
6 it was clearly before they realized that they would
7 have to build so much of the pipeline above-ground.
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Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 A That was the point I
2 was going to make, Mr. Commissioner. If that estimate
3 was made in '69 or '70, along with the nine hundred million
4 dollar cost estimate, that envisioned most of the pipe-
5 line being buried, then obviously it's going to change
6 dramatically when over half the lines had to be elevated.
7 That just takes a substantially larger number of people
8 for the above ground installation, as well as the
9 terminal at Valdez that is I'm sure in excess of the
10 two or three thousand range of employees working on
11 that terminal.

12 Q At Valdez?

13 A At Valdez, yes.

14 Q Yes, but they would have
15 known that. Mr. Trusty and I discussed this the other
16 day, and I think Mr. Trusty attributed the three-fold
17 increase in the number of employees required simply to
18 the failure to comprehend the kind of animal they were
19 working with. They thought they were going to build a
20 below ground -- a buried pipeline and they wound up
21 building largely an above ground pipeline. But they
22 must have known at the beginning they were going to
23 build a terminal at Valdez.

24 WITNESS TRUSTY: Even there, sir,
25 my understanding is that, first of all, that number, I'm
26 sure did start right back in the early days in 1969 or
27 '70, and even then I think there were very drastic
28 changes made to the terminal facilities, for example, with
29 respect to its earthquake and tidal wave ability to
30 withstand those things. The whole project even there became

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 more complex than originally contemplated.

2 Q I follow you. I'm sorry,
3 Mr. Williams, go ahead.

4 WITNESS WILLIAMS: I think we've
5 kicked that around long enough to answer Mr. Bayly's
6 specific question.

7 As we have discussed in the past
8 Mr. Bayly, we think that we have made a realistic esti-
9 mate, but we haven't fully relied on our own knowledge
10 and information. As Mr. Dau has testified, we went
11 to eight contractors to get estimates from them, that
12 included sizes of crews, equipment requirement, productivity
13 expectations, and we found that their estimates were not
14 that far different from our own, so we feel that we
15 have a realistic estimate.

16 Now, we've also discussed, from
17 time to time the contingencies -- contingency plans that
18 would be affected if it turns out that our estimate is
19 lower than expected and this certainly would include
20 increasing the number of people on the spread and if
21 necessary, adding spreads following the first year of
22 construction. Probably not in the first year of construc-
23 tion, but in the second and third years.

24 MR. BAYLY: In the first year
25 you'd be content to be behind, that's your learning year
26 and you'd add not until the second or --

27 A Not content, Mr. Bayly, but
28 it's something we'd be stuck with, I'm afraid. Once you've
29 embarked on a plan, it's hard to change it in the middle
30 of a winter construction season, not impossible, but very

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 difficult.

2 Q All right, and let me
3 suggest to you that a number of things might involve
4 the requirement of adding more men and I'll just suggest
5 some of them to you, there may be others.

6 1. If it's more difficult than you anticipate to
7 work in the darkness on the North Slope and in the
8 Inuvik region.

9 A Certainly.

10 Q In other words, if your
11 new super-ditcher doesn't pan out.

12 A Yes.

13 Q Another one would be if
14 you have a strike.

15 A That's certainly a possibility.
16 The other solution to the strike, of course, is to
17 stretch out the schedule, which I would agree is not
18 desirable. It's going to cost money.

19 Q But if those, as a wide
20 range, but those are some examples of things that you
21 might -- which might cause alterations after the first
22 year in your projected manpower requirements.

23 A They are possibilities, yes.

24 Q And those are the sorts
25 of things, I suggest to you, that Alyeska faced. Not
26 those particular problems perhaps, but they anticipated
27 a certain number of workers, things went wrong and they
28 couldn't do exactly what they had thought they could do
29 and one of the solutions that they came up with was to
30 add more men.

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1
2 A Yes, and at the same time
3 we have been watching the Alyeska situation pretty
4 closely, Mr. Bayly and we hope to, and think, through
5 proper planning that we shouldn't get into the same
6 problems as they have.

7 Q Yes, and you've learned
8 from them, so you'll try not to repeat some of the
9 problems that they found occurring that they hadn't
10 anticipated.

11 A I'd like to emphasize
12 though, that they are different projects, really. There
13 are vast differences between the two projects.

14 Q Well, I understand and
15 we don't anticipate that you, for example, would have
16 to build the pipeline above ground, but if that suddenly
17 became a realistic requirement, then you'd be faced
18 with an entirely new projection of manpower figures.

19 A Yes sir.

20 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, Dr.
21 Clark said that if it came to that the project wouldn't
22 be feasible; that I think has already been canvassed. It was
23 canvassed in connection with your namesakes' theories
24 about frost heave .

25 A Yes sir.

26 MR. BAYLY: Page 13 again, Mr.
27 Trusty, and back to you. You state that prior to 1984
28 the jobs will be construction oriented, but regional
29 residents will have the opportunity to acquire many
30 of the skills that will allow them to take advantage of

Trusty, Hollands
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam By Bayly

1 continuing employment opportunities, and I gather you
2 tie this in to Mr. Carlson's testimony on page 10 where
3 he refers to construction that could provide training
4 and experience that is relevant to obtaining permanent
5 operations and maintenance jobs.

6 WITNESS TRUSTY: In part.

7
8 Q What sort of specific
9 skills would you contemplate people acquiring and what
10 would continuing employment opportunities include?

11 A I'm sorry, Mr. Bayly, would
12 you say that again?

13 Q I had trouble with those
14 words, let me try again. What sort of specific skills
15 are you referring to and what specific continuing employ-
16 ment opportunities would you have in mind?

17 A Well, apart from the
18 general question of orientation to a wage economy, that
19 might be applicable to a number of the northern residents
20 who ^{would} work in construction, heavy equipment operators is
21 an example. We will show later, there will be permanent
22 or at least long-term jobs associated directly with
23 the growth in the communities and the development of
24 community serves and facilities, and therefore people who
25 work on the civil work during pipeline construction
26 would have acquired skills that would be useful to them
27 in terms of doing work in the communities themselves.

28 I guess it isn't as
29 directly relevant in the case of jobs in the explora-
30 tion and in gas plant operations, but even there, I think

Trusty, Hollands,
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Cross- Exam by Bayly

1 some of the orientation to wage employment and aspects
2 of wage employment would be relative. In that sense
3 we're talking more about life skills than we are about
4 specific work skills.

5 Q And before I go into what
6 a life skill is, I'd like to know what kind of opportunity
7 you would envisage for a saw-filer to get on a caterpillar
8 tractor and learn how to operate it.

9 A I'm sorry, say this again?

10 Q You said that some of
11 the opportunities to take training in jobs that will
12 allow a person to work in the operations and maintenance
13 portion of the pipeline operation will be provided during
14 the construction programme, and what I'm concerned with,
15 and this is just an example, is how does the saw-filer
16 become able to test out his ability on a caterpillar
17 tractor?

18 A Well, I think that the
19 more relevant point is the caterpillar tractor operator,
20 the person who learns how to operate the caterpillar
21 tractor during construction will then be in a much
22 better position to take a job operating a caterpillar
23 tractor associated with some community development or
24 with some of the kinds of jobs that Mr. Carlson was
25 referring to earlier on the pipeline operations.

26 Q But how do you get him on
27 the tractor to begin with? Are you going to offer on
28 the job training after hours or what? You know, you're
29 running a streamlined operation, I would suggest, and you
30

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 don't want people fooling around with the equipment,
2 unless it's in some kind of training course, I would
3 suggest.
4

5 Do you want to answer that
6 Mr. Williams?

7 A I think Mr.
8 Hollands could comment on that.

9 Q Mr. Hollands.

10 A He spoke
11 in his testimony about the on the job training.

12 WITNESS HOLLANDS: Well, I'll
13 offer Mr. Williams the opportunity as well, but I think
14 that in -- as with the Alyeska project and particularly
15 when you're talking about heavy equipment operation in
16 the case of the teamsters that there is well structured
17 training programmes, part of which would take place
18 before such people are allowed to use the equipment on
19 the job, and I think the time would be taken because of
20 the value of the equipment.

21 Q All right. Now, that would
22 be even in the absence of a person having operated a
23 machine before if he showed some interest in it?

24 A And showed capability, yes.

25 Q All right, but he can't
26 show capability unless you let him on the machine.

27 A No, no, I'm talking about
28 during the course of this training and obviously, if he
29 didn't demonstrate that capability, the training would
30 terminate and he would go on to something else.

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Q All right, but you would
2 have that training on the job. You wouldn't send him
3 down to Fort Smith or to a Nortran programme necessarily?

4 A No, I'm not sure about
5 that. I don't think we would think of sending him into
6 southern Canada, but it may be practical from a point
7 of view of consolidating training to have it in some
8 place like Fort Smith or Inuvik or at some place in
9 the Territories, yes.

10 Q All right. Now to do
11 that and to go away from the job that he was on, he would
12 have to give up his saw-filing occupation to take this
13 course, is that true?

14 Is
15 A /the assumption that he
16 was working in construction, or anywhere?

17 Q I picked the example of
18 somebody who was working in a fairly simple technical
19 area, in the clearing operations, he wants to become
20 a heavy equipment operator, but he needs the money because
21 that's why he took the job in the first place.
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Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 A The clearing operation
2 job.

3 Q Yes, you start with
4 clearing.

5 A Yes, he can apply for
6 that the same as anyone could, and yes, he would be
7 taken off the job, and replaced by someone else.

8 Q And would he be paid while
9 he was learning to be a caterpillar tractor operator?

10 A Yes.

11 Q And how much room for
12 that sort of thing have you got, and at the same time
13 maintaining your operation schedules, because you're
14 not primarily running a school, you are trying to build
15 a pipeline.

16 A I'll defer to Mr. Williams.

17 Q Mr. Williams?

18 WITNESS WILLIAMS: Well, Mr.
19 Bayly, traditionally in the south a lot of the -- a
20 good number of people who have acquired the pipeline
21 skills have acquired them on the job. That's over
22 quite a few years, and here we're talking about three
23 years. So it's going to be -- there are going to be some
24 difficulties, certainly, in providing all the training
25 that some people would no doubt like. But my under-
26 standing is that there have been numerous, many graduates
27 from Fort Smith program in tractor operation that haven't
28 been able to follow up that line of work because of ^{it} not
29 being available. I would think that in pipeline work
30 these are the types of people that -- who have had the

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 training would most easily fit into the construction
2 work because on the pipeline there is a substantial
3 amount of tractor work that doesn't require a high
4 degree of skill. When you get into side boom operating
5 that's different, and I think that does require much
6 more skill and practice.

7 Q Now, what I want to be
8 able to do, Mr. Williams, is to be realistic when I'm
9 advising my clients and what you're suggesting to me
10 I believe, I should tell them, "Look if you haven't
11 taken some kind of training or had some practical
12 experience in operating a bulldozer, you better get it
13 before construction starts because the likelihood of
14 your being able to move into that during construction
15 is fairly small. You have to go to school to do that."
16 The construction period is for a matter of a few years
17 and in practical terms there may be the odd person we
18 can point to and say, "He moved from a brush clearer
19 to a side boom operator in only three seasons," but
20 generally speaking, we're looking at people, as you
21 say, who have already taken the training but have
22 had no opportunity to use these skills because of
23 lack of that kind of work.

24 A I wouldn't be quite that
25 severe, Mr. Bayly. I think over the three-year period
26 that there will be opportunities to acquire the practice
27 necessary to drive a tractor. But I wouldn't see them
28 stepping into it and starting off on day 1 on a train-
29 ing program. Now maybe Mr. Hollands and Mr. Trusty have
30 a different idea. But that would be my reaction.

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Q Does either of you gentle-
2 men have anything further to comment beyond what Mr.
3 Williams said?

4 WITNESS TRUSTY: The one comment
5 I'd make, Mr. Bayly, is the point here is that in the
6 past in the Northwest Territories people have acquired
7 skills in conjunction with a particular project such
8 as the DEW Line, for example, and after the project
9 was over there has been no market for their skills, and
10 the point that I was simply trying to make on page 13
11 is that there will be a market after this project is
12 over for the regional residents who do acquire such
13 skills. In that way it's a very definite departure from
14 what's occurred historically in this area.

15 Q All right, and you are
16 saying that there may be as well continuing work for
17 those who have acquired the skills on the DEW Line to
18 --

19 A To come back and use
20 them, that's right, or people who graduated from Fort
21 Smith or whatever, acquired training.

22 Q And you appreciate, no
23 doubt, that some of these people have no paper quali-
24 fications that they learned from some chap who was
25 working on the DEW Line, and may do a very good practi-
26 cal job of running a caterpillar tractor but may have
27 no paper certificate that says they are a qualified
28 operator.

29 WITNESS WILLIAMS:

30 A Yes, I think those
skills could be determined very quickly. The skill that

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 a man has can be determined very quickly in the field,
2 Mr. Bayly.

3 Q You'd anticipate a practi-
4 cal test, if a man says he can operate a machine, you
5 test him out?

6 A I would see that as a
7 necessity, yes; if he wasn't known by the employer.

8 THE COMMISSIONER: And even
9 if he had a piece of paper, you'd probably want to test
10 him out.

11 A I would think it would be
12 wise, if there was any question, Mr. Commissioner, yes.

13 WITNESS HOLLANDS: This isn't
14 uncommon, which the, both execution contractor and the
15 appropriate union that's looking at this person will
16 lead them through a practical test.

17 MR. BAYLY: Q Well, what sort
18 of comments do the unions have about a person who falls
19 into this situation that I've described? Have you dis-
20 cussed that with the unions?

21 A I think it would be most
22 appropriate for the unions to respond to that question
23 and they will be here.

24 Q I'll get them to comment
25 on it. What I want to know is whether you've discussed
26 this with them as one of the problems of your northern
27 employment expectations?

28 A Yes, we have discussed
29 the situation with respect to the existing Nortran
30 program, and we've described in a general way what we

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 feel some of the problems will be in employment in
2 the north, in that there will be a number of people
3 who will come to construction with a lack of experience,
4 and I can't say more than the unions, as well as the
5 execution contractors that we talked with showed
6 favorable inclination to recognize that there is a
7 situation and that they're prepared to work with one
8 another to maximize the opportunity for these people
9 in construction work.

10 Q Now, the one thing that
11 you seem to have left out in what you discussed with
12 the unions was those people with plenty of experience
13 but neither the Nortran training program behind them
14 or paper qualifications. These are the people I used
15 as an example, who learned to operate something on the
16 DEW Line and had nothing that they could show the union
17 as evidence of that.

18 A I'm sorry, I don't follow
19 you when you say we left them out.

20 Q Well, when you told me
21 what you'd been discussing with the unions, you omitted
22 that category. You told me you discussed the Nortran
23 people and people without construction experience.

24 A Right.

25 Q What I'm concerned with
26 is the people with construction experience but with
27 no program or paper behind that.

28 A Well, that was an omission
29 on my part because we're certainly knowledgeable of the
30 people who have been through A.V.T.C. and are not

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 presently employed in their trades.

2 Q You did discuss them with
3 the unions as well?

4 A Yes, and they're as
5 aware of it as we are, I might add, from our own
6 discussion.

7 MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner,
8 if you're agreeable, this would be an appropriate place
9 for me to break.

10 THE COMMISSIONER: O.K. We'll
11 break for a cup of coffee.

12 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)
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Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: There's a tendency, I suppose, for the business men in the north to look at this project and say, "Wow, it's going to cost eight billion," or whatever it is. "So some of that money is going to fall off that money tree in the Mackenzie Valley."

You're saying that personal expenditures by pipeline employees from the south, by construction workers in the south will not be made here. Certainly it is the object of the company to ensure that so far as is possible the conditions are not present for those expenditures to be made. But in a corporate sense, Arctic Gas will be developing links to the northern economy and to northern business.

WITNESS TRUSTY: Yes sir.

Q So that corporate expenditures and corporate contractual arrangements will be made with northern business, and putting it in a very rough way that's where we're at, is it?

A One point I think that's worthwhile noting is that the Town of Inuvik, for example, in December 8th Town Council meeting included as one of the items in terms of their assessment of what they'd like to see out of the project, that construction workers to the greatest extent possible be kept out of the town.

Q M-hm.

A And so that the communities -- at least certainly in the case of Inuvik -- seemed to

Trusty, Holland, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 be recognizing the tradeoff between potential business
2 and potential disruption from that particular aspect of
3 the project. Now that's not to say that they're not
4 interested in the direct corporate procurement you
5 just mentioned, but --

6 Q That's interesting, be-
7 cause I think if you look at the brief by the Inuvik
8 Chamber of Commerce they didn't stipulate such a con-
9 dition.

10 A No, that's right.

11 Q Which notwithstanding the
12 tendency of everybody up here to wear two or three
13 hats, it would indicate that the Town Council and the
14 Chamber of Commerce must consist of different people.

15 A What the Chamber did refer
16 to, of course, was that they -- while they would like
17 to see procurement and employment, they were concerned
18 in their brief to you to note the problem of potential
19 inflation and shortages, and asked that there be some
20 way to keep a check and balance, if you like, on those
21 aspects, and I think this is one way.

22 THE COMMISSIONER: Right. O.K.,
23 Mr. Bayly. Sorry. They're all yours.

24 MR. BAYLY: I think they're their
25 own men, sir.

26 Q Gentlemen, the problems that
27 I was alluding to prior to coffee are ones that, as I
28 understand it, are not simply in the abstract, and the
29 kinds of examples that native peoples in the delta run
30 into are found in the questions I was asking. For

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1 example, a cat operator in the delta who belongs to
2 the union left his job because he didn't have Grade 11,
3 which was the requirement for a cat operating job
4 that he was applying for, and he was unable to read
5 the form (he doesn't read or write). This kind of
6 problem, ^{that} people are concerned with in that area, and
7 what you're telling me, I gather, Mr. Hollands, is
8 that for this particular project that will change for
9 that kind of person.

10 WITNESS HOLLANDS: Well, Mr.
11 Bayly, I'm not competent first of all to know whether
12 it's Grade 11 that's required for cat operators. I
13 frankly don't know that. The position that we've taken
14 is recognition that in our industry -- I'm now talking
15 about petroleum and natural gas industry over a good
16 many years -- we've set standards of educational quali-
17 fications. They generally are Grade 11-Grade 12 level,
18 but there have been an awful lot of people brought into
19 training who have done with much lower education than
20 that, who happen to be in the work force and showed
21 an interest and I'll use the word "drive" to self-
22 educate, and such people have gone a long way in
23 training in our industry. It's largely been on-the-job
24 in-the-plant type of training. What Arctic Gas'
25 position is, in my opinion, is that there are a lot of
26 people in the Territories who have demonstrated abilities
27 of this type, that you're talking about, who should be
28 taken into training and waiving some of these educa-
29 tional requirements. If they show the competency
30 on the so-called laying on of hands type capability

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1 of handling the equipment as opposed to knowing all the
2 theory, then those people should be taken into this
3 training. To the extent that unions will have control
4 over that, then unions also will have to participate
5 in that decision. Arctic Gas cannot do that arbitrarily.

6 Q Now, going back to you,
7 Mr. Trusty, the jobs that you predict and project being
8 available for people in the Mackenzie Valley are based
9 on the assumption that the people in this area both
10 need and want the jobs that will be made available.
11 Is that correct?

12 WITNESS TRUSTY: Well, we're
13 talking about job opportunities ^{that will} be made available.

14 Q The reason that I asked
15 that is that, as you know, Gulf Oil went to the Community
16 of Coppermine for some of its manpower requirements in
17 its delta operations, and Dr. Hobart's study of Copper-
18 mine seems to indicate that there was some question of
19 people in the delta and that vicinity not wanting those
20 jobs, that being one of the reasons for going to look
21 in Coppermine. Not the only reason, because he sugges-
22 ted they might also be more reliable in outlying
23 communities.

24 A I can only comment in
25 a very limited way on that, and the limited way is that
26 my understanding is that the other producing companies
27 have tended to draw employees from other communities.
28 For example, residents of the Community of Aklavik are
29 involved in seismic operations. Residents of Fort
30 McPherson have been involved. I think Imperial has

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1 hired people in the Tuk area, but I can't be very
2 specific on that matter. I thought, my recall was
3 that the producers in Inuvik during that portion of
4 the hearing brought forth some evidence on that matter.

5 Q Yes, they did. I wondered
6 if you were aware of that being an influence perhaps
7 on your projection about the needs and desires for
8 jobs because it's after all the producers' evidence that
9 suggested -- one of the producers, anyway -- had to go
10 far afield to find employees for one of its operations.

11 A Yes. I can't comment on
12 why specifically Gulf went to Coppermine. I just have
13 no real knowledge of that question. Our views, as
14 expressed in 14.c about the need for jobs, are based
15 (1) on an analysis of the region,
16 (2) on the kind of point that Dr. Hobart made regarding
17 the wave of young people who are coming into the
18 working age population and who are -- appear to be
19 more attuned toward the wage employment spectrum.

20 All of the evidence that was
21 generated in the early part of the '70s, the Boreal
22 Institute surveys, other surveys that have been made
23 have indicated preferences on the part of young people
24 for wage employment. Those factors led us to reach
25 the conclusion that was stated in Section 14.c regard-
26 ing the importance of wage employment being available,
27 and I think Dr. Hobart went through that in some detail
28 the other day and I concur with what he said.

29 Q So if Dr. Hobart were
30 to advise you to go to Cambridge Bay or to Spence Bay

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1 for your employees for this project, you'd be inclined
2 not to follow that advice at the present, unless nobody
3 came forward for the jobs that you were offering in
4 the delta.

5 A I can't really comment on
6 that. I'm not sure I follow quite what you're saying
7 there.

8 Q You don't intend to go
9 to Cambridge Bay and Spence Bay to recruit people for
10 this pipeline.

11 A My understanding would
12 be that if there were people from Cambridge Bay or
13 Spence Bay who were interested in job opportunities,
14 they wouldn't be turned away. Maybe Mr. Hollands
15 would want to comment on that.

16 Q Well, there's a difference
17 between that, as I'm sure you understand, and the
18 Gulf recruitment program which was an active program
19 in another community, in the Community of Coppermine.
20 What I'm asking is whether it's in the plans or
21 potential plans for Arctic Gas to go to other communi-
22 ties with an active recruitment program like that,
23 communities that are not in the Mackenzie Valley or
24 delta?

25 WITNESS HOLLANDS: Perhaps, Mr.
26 Bayly, it wasn't as clear in the testimony as it was
27 intended to be. We anticipate -- and maybe I should
28 ask you a question, if I may, first. Are you talking
29 about operations or construction, because I think
30 there's clearly a difference?

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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Q All right, well let's
2 talk about one at a time but let's talk about both.

3 A O.K.

4 Q You choose the order.

5 A My choice. Talk about
6 construction. We indicated that for the people from
7 the south that are in the north on construction pro-
8 jects, that they would be rotated out probably in the
9 winter season just once for the Christmas period for
10 a break, and that for people who are northern residents
11 and employed in construction that we would work out
12 arrangements with them, hopefully in -- if you can
13 use the word "batches" -- in a way that Gulf is doing
14 in Coppermine. That's that they pick up a number of
15 people and they bring them to the work site and they take
16 them back, and I think that I don't know what Gulf might
17 have testified to in the delta hearings, but my under-
18 standing is that that is less of a training program,
19 it's not the Nortran type of training program where
20 they are in school and learning skills to move up so
21 much as they've taken some of the basic jobs in that
22 exploration activity and they're not concerned whether
23 the same people rotate back the second time. I think
24 there is more people involved in that rotation than
25 there are the number of jobs.

26 In the case of our construction
27 project, we would anticipate that if there is someone
28 from the far Eastern Arctic who wanted to work on
29 construction, that it wouldn't be reasonable or perhaps
30 even feasible to talk about rotating those people back

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1 and forward the same way we might do with someone who
2 was from Tuk, we'll say.

3 Therefore in the testimony we
4 established what we think would be a fair way, and
5 that's to use a dollar limitation on that transportation.
6 In other words, if someone wanted to work and they
7 were from the Eastern Arctic and rotate every month
8 and they were prepared to do it at their expense, we
9 would accommodate that. But we didn't think it was
10 reasonable to rotate somebody back and forth at that
11 expense at that frequency.

1 Q All right, so that when
2 you say a dollar limit, the allurement if we can call
3 it that for the employment, quite apart from the
4 fact that it is a job, is that within a certain radius,
5 a dollar per mile radius, you would agree to fly
6 people in and out of their communities on a rotation
7 basis. If they are beyond that dollar limit, you will
8 only go as far as that dollar limit?

9 A Yes.

10 Q If there is a difference
11 to pay, they would have to pay that themselves?

12 A Yes, or in the case of
13 longer rotations, they could store up. I think we'd
14 be looking at that money on an annualized basis. That
15 would be true of operations in particular.

16 Q So if they would normally
17 rotate every six weeks and they were willing to wait
18 twelve weeks, they would get double the dollars to go
19 back to wherever they came from?

20 A If the rotation was every
21 six weeks.

22 Q Yes, using that as only
23 as an example.

24 A On the common basis.

25 Q All right. But apart
26 from that, you wouldn't anticipate having the kind of
27 set-up that they have in Coppermine with an expeditor
28 with a regular flight to bring workers to and from the
29 job site unless there were sufficient people from that
30 community that you felt that that could be justified

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1 on that dollar basis.

2 A A general answer to that
3 question is yes. Specifically, I think there is
4 considerable hope for some logic to this idea of a
5 delivery system that has been developed and under those
6 circumstances, we would have some kind of community
7 contact. I don't think that has been developed thoroughly.
8 Each of us have some of our own ideas about what it
9 might be.

10 Q Now, all right, when you
11 talk about some community contact, that would mean
12 that you might go into a number of communities not
13 yet anticipating that they would be part of the labor
14 pool for this pipeline and talk to the people there. Is
15 that right?

16 A Would define the communities
17 for me? Like --

18 Q Well, I don't know what
19 they --

20 A You mean outside the
21 Mackenzie Delta?

22 Q Yes. Except for the
23 dollar limitation that you put on it, where we would
24 begin. Whether it would be Coppermine or Spence Bay
25 or Pelly Bay or what?

26 A Well, I really can't
27 comment on that beyond saying this, that in any of the
28 discussions we have had with DIAND and the Territories
29 in particular, there has been no definition given as
30 to what area of the Territories this delivery system

Trusty, Hollands
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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 should work within. It may well be that there would
2 be an interest on the part of DIAND or the Territorial
3 Government to go further afield and perhaps subsidize
4 that activity. I don't know.

5 Q So you are not the only
6 ones in the planning of where the employment benefits
7 should fall that the two governments with jurisdiction
8 in this Territory may influence the choice of places
9 that you go to or the distances that you go to recruit
10 employees?

11 A Yes, and that would
12 include the producers as well.

13 Q That's something that you
14 haven't got to the --

15 A --final

16 Q -- discussion level
17 of, of deciding how far you would go or to what particular
18 communities.

19 A Right.

20 Q Right. I take it therefore
21 if you haven't got to that level with the government,
22 you haven't been to the individual communities to see
23 how receptive they are?

24 A No, we haven't been to
25 the individual communities.

26 Q If we could -- just a
27 couple of questions for you Mr. Williams. Starting at
28 the first page of your evidence, you've told us that the
29 M15 compressor station site is no longer typical. Is
30 that because there are more or fewer jobs of certain

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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 kinds on that site or would you be hiring all your
2 people from certain areas for that particular compressor
3 station?

4 WITNESS WILLIAMS: No, I think
5 the situation changed there Mr. Bayly because of the
6 problem nonavailability of the Mackenzie highway. I
7 would have to look at that. I've just kind of
8 forgotten where M-15 is.

9 Q Well, I was going to ask
10 you that as my next question because I don't know
11 where M-15 is either.

12 A I'll tell you.
13 Just a minute here.

14 Q I don't want to get into
15 the problem we had with Big Eddy, so --

16 A M-15 is at Fort Simpson
17 and I would suspect that it's not typical because it
18 doesn't have an airstrip for instance. It has an
19 all-weather road to the river. But it wasn't typical
20 because, mainly because of the changes resulting from
21 the highway not to be built.

22 Q But that's of those --
23 its lack of typicality has to do with its change in
24 facilities rather than any change in employment policies
25 for that particular area?

26 A Well, fewer facilities
27 would be fewer construction employees Mr. Bayly.

28 Q Right.

29 A Rather than in any
30 change in employment.

Trusty, Hollands
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Q How many of these compressor
2 stations are going to be typical or is each one
3 different? Are we looking at kind of a range in the
4 number of employees in the various categories that you
5 could tell us something about?

6 A This crew that we say
7 was no longer typical was the civil construction
8 crew; the one involved with building the roads and the
9 pads and things like that. It's not the compressor
10 station per se.

11 Q Right.

12 A The compressor stations
13 are very similar, but the amount of gravel and earth
14 that has to be moved vary substantially, so this wasn't
15 typical so we took the total force required and divided
16 by the number of crews to come up with an average crew
17 this time, rather than typical Mr. Bayly.

18 Q Oh, I see. So you have
19 used a different approach this time. You have given
20 an average number as opposed to picking a specific
21 site?

22 A That's correct.

23 Q Yes. Now on page two
24 you set out various classes of employment. If I can
25 just go over them quickly with you and then I will
26 compare them to Mr. Hollands' evidence at page six.

27 A Those are not our classes
28 Mr. Bayly.

29 Q Oh, whose classes are these?
30 I am sorry, these are the regional impact classes.

Trusty, Hollands
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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 A Yes sir.

2 Q But do you follow these
3 classes?

4 A In our response to question
5 two, we used their classification.

6 Q do you intend to do so
7 in construction or just be generally guided by the
8 fact there will be skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled
9 positions and they will vary?

10 A Well, in the pipeline
11 industry you really don't have the need to go to
12 this classification Mr. Bayly. Generally the unions
13 do that for you.

14 Q O.K. So what should we
15 do with these classes? Are these the ones that we have
16 to pay much attention to? Or are these things that
17 we won't know about until the unions have specifically
18 said what occupations fit into the three classes?

19 A No, I have no quarrel
20 with the definition of the classifications. It was
21 requested by the government that we divide the crews
22 into their classifications and we did that. I have
23 no quarrel with their definition. It can be used any
24 way you or the government or anyone else might want
25 to use it.

26 Q O.K. Well let me try and
27 test it out with regard to northern employees -- the
28 four classes. Am I correct in saying that Class 1
29 involves those people with many years of pipeline
30 construction experience in the skilled trades and that

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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 with very few exceptions there will be no northerners,
2 and in particular no native northerners who will have
3 picked up the skills by the time this pipeline begins
4 construction if present schedules are adhered to?

5 A Well I am sure there will
6 be exceptions Mr. Bayly and I think we should just
7 limit it to pipeline construction. Now, in station
8 construction I am sure there are many qualified carpenters
9 and plumbers and electricians and whatnot --

10 Q I don't want to get
11 side-tracked by that --

12 A -- in the north and also
13 in pipeline work for camp maintenance, there will be
14 a need for carpenters and plumbers and electricians.
15 But on the pipeline, one wouldn't expect much experience
16 because there has been practically no pipeline work done
17 north of 60⁰.

18 Q All right. Now, one
19 of the skills that we've heard that is very difficult
20 to acquire and takes a long time to acquire is that of
21 a pipeline welder.

22 A Yes sir.

23 Q There are lots of pipeline
24 welders in comparison to the amount of pipeline welding
25 that has to be done. You won't have to train
26 northerners to do that. The pipeline welders will follow
27 the job.

28 A If you are just speaking
29 of pipeline welders in Canada, Mr. Bayly, I don't think
30

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
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1 that is true.

2 Q No, but you will probably
3 have some people who come from the United States to do
4 this job because it is a very specialized job and
5 you will be looking for specialists. You won't be
6 looking for somebody who would like to become a welder?

7 A It depends on how long
8 this thing drags out Mr. Bayly, but I would expect that
9 once a permit was granted, that there would be insuffi-
10 cient time to train a man from scratch that could
11 qualify for high pressure pipeline welding.

12 Q Right, and as I understand,
13 this kind of welding is not something that the Nortran
14 Program is concentrating on?

WITNESS HOLLANDS:

15 A That's correct.

16 Q Yes, so that kind of
17 training is not presently going on. There are other
18 skilled jobs that people are being trained for, but
19 they're not pipeline welders.

20 A They are operating jobs
21 Mr. Bayly.

22 Q Yes.

23 THE COMMISSIONER: Nortran
24 has nothing to do with pipeline construction.

25 A Correct.

26 MR. BAYLY: Right. Now, in
27 class two, you would anticipate that there would be a
28 larger number of northern people, and in particular native
29 northern people who would qualify for some of these jobs?

30

Trusty, Hollands
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 WITNESS WILLIAMS: Yes sir.

2 Q And class 3, I wasn't
3 quite sure whether that was a white or blue collar
4 classification because it talks about clerical or light
5 equipment handling experience, and I didn't know whether
6 that was driving trucks or typewriters.

7 A Both.

8 Q So there is a broad
9 range of jobs that fits into class 3.

10 A Yes sir.

11 Q And class 4 is a class
12 for which any able bodied person could apply without
13 a great deal of training?

14 A Yes sir.

15 Q But he would have to have
16 previous work experience in formal employment, according
17 to the classification. The way you're saying, it sounds
18 like he wouldn't have to if he was on your crew.

19 A He wouldn't have to if what?

20 Q If he were on your crew.

21 A Well, it's pretty hard
22 to imagine anyone at the age of 18 or older that hadn't
23 had some work experience, Mr. Bayly, and I would think
24 that's about all that's necessary for class 4.

25 Q Well, we've heard some
26 evidence that there may be a number of people who have
27 either had none or have only had very little formal
28 work experience, who may have worked for their families
29 or learned how to run a chainsaw for cutting wood for
30 the community, or trapped for most of their lives who might

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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 step forward because of the availability of jobs and
2 the attractiveness of the pay that's being offered and
3 you'd be faced with those people who might never have
4 formally worked in the sense, that I think we both mean.

5 A Well, I would think that
6 anybody that has trapped for a couple of years has
7 training that would be invaluable to this job.

8 Q You'd include that as
9 formal employment?

10 A Certainly.

11 Q Yes, okay. Going to table
12 4 that you have here on page 7 of your evidence, down
13 near the bottom there's a category that's called backend
14 welder, and it involves 50 people from class 1, that is
15 who would have to be imported from other areas, and 10
16 people from class 2. Would they be trainees or would
17 that be a less demanding kind of backend welding?

18 A No, they would be journey-
19 men, Mr. Bayly, but maybe possibly had trouble passing
20 the test that they would be doing welding other than on
21 the pipeline.

22 Q So they might be welding
23 equipment that had broken down or something like that?

24 A Yes sir.

25 Q Could I move on to you
26 then, Mr. Carlson, and in your evidence, at pages 9 through
27 11, you list the positions in each district for operations
28 and maintenance of the pipeline facilities and on page
29 10 you state that most of the new hires begin in the
30 position for maintenance man and eventually can be pro-

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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1
2 moted to other positions in the field operation. Now,
3 I gather some of these positions will be ones that they,
4 without leaving the job and going back to some sort
5 of formal training, could not aspire to. For example,
6 pilot and flight engineer would be a couple that I can
7 think of.

8 WITNESS CARLSON: I think that

9 Q It's pretty hard to move
10 into the operations of the ranks from a maintenance man
11 into a completely different field.

12 A No, I would say the option
13 is open. It's up to the individual, Mr. Bayly. Many
14 people have started out as a maintenance man and have
15 ended up as foreman and district managers, this sort
16 of thing. I think it's all up to the individual as to
17 whether or not he wants to grow with the company in
18 the wage economy.

19 Q Mr. Carlson, your faith
20 seems to be stronger than that found in the Northerner
21 Training Programme, volume 14(f) of the applicant, and
22 I'm referring there to Appendix D, Recruitment and
23 Training at page 10, and with regard to the very jobs
24 that you're making reference to, they've stated page
25 10 as follows:

26 "Unfortunately a hierarchy is implied in
27 any kind of a classification system and
28 must be stated that while it appears there
29 is likely to be considerable movement
30 within each of the classifications noted

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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 above, there also appears to be little
2 likelihood of movement between the
3 classifications. Some movement between
4 classifications will obviously take
5 place and in many cases will be desirable
6 for both individuals -- both the individual
7 and the gas company. For example, persons
8 in the labour classification might very
9 well receive additional training and move
10 to occupations within the trade and
11 technical occupations."

12 The point here is that there
13 is not an entry port from which there will be movement
14 to all other occupations. They seem, in other words,
15 to be more pessimistic than you about that kind of
16 mobility.

17 A Certainly I was not the
18 author of that statement in the Nortran document you
19 refer to. I disagree with the statement. I believe
20 there is an opportunity for any individual who starts out
21 as a maintenance man to grow with the company.

22 Q Right. Now, Mr. Carlson,
23 without trying to dampen your optimism, isn't it sort
24 of like saying anybody can become the president of
25 the United States? Not everybody will. I guess that's
26 a less popular phrase than it used to be.

27 A Who wants the job?

28 Mr. Bayly, my optimism, I
29 don't think is as great as you -- or is as great as you
30 feel. I feel there is a small number, whether it's 25

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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 percent, 15 percent, I can't say, it's up to the individual.
2 If you would take 22 maintenance men in Inuvik district
3 and compare the number that you had in any other district,
4 you may well find that 50 percent are promotable out
5 of the maintenance category in one district, for one
6 reason or the other. It may be related to the fact
7 they are closer to a location that has some trade school,
8 where they can, or where the individual wants to take
9 some night courses. I think CAGSL will, without question,
10 promote in-house training programmes that would enable
11 maintenance men to get into the technician category.
12 Trans-Canada Pipelines has such a programme and many
13 people have moved out of that maintenance category
14 because of the in-house training that takes place.

15 Q All right, so what you're
16 telling me is that the company will accommodate
17 anybody who's got the desire if the facilities are
18 close by, that they can take advantage of, to move from
19 classification to classification.

20 A Yes sir.

21 Q But -- I shouldn't go back
22 to my clients and say anyone who takes the maintenance
23 course is likely to end up as District Supervisor, because
24 it just isn't the case.

25 A Well I have not --

26 Q Somebody might.

27 A I don't know of a course
28 that is defined as a maintenance course, for example.

29 Q No.

30 A But certainly technician

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1 courses are made available. As we mentioned earlier,
2 the new hires generally get into that maintenance category.
3 They have more difficulty than someone with higher
4 educational standards or experience or technical qualifica-
5 tions of moving out of that category, but the possibility
6 still exists in my judgement.

7 Q The general -- just before
8 you come in, Mr. Hollands, and I will come back to you,
9 but the general trend though, Mr. Carlson, is to stick
10 in the same area. If you start out as a low level
11 technician, you're likely to move into a higher level
12 technician position. The odd case will be a man who
13 is a maintenance man and wants to become a flight
14 engineer, but that's rare. If he wanted to do that,
15 he would have started in something that was more akin
16 to what he was going to end up in. Wouldn't that be
17 fair to say?

18 A Well, I started out as
19 a labourer. I think any one of us can work out of the
20 position we start out in, in the business world or the
21 job economy.

22 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, is
23 this getting us anywhere? You're both simply offering
24 opinions about people's expectations and the way they
25 will likely proceed once they've got their foot on the
26 first rung of the ladder. Whether they will go up side-
27 ways or diagonally. Isn't that about all you can get
28 out of these people on that subject?

29 MR. BAYLY: Perhaps sir, I
30 want to make sure that Mr. Carlson feels that the jobs

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 in themselves are going to be moderately satisfying and
2 that the main impetus , when a person gets into the job
3 is to do it rather than be always trying for something
4 else. That sounds like it might be a fairly unsatisfying
5 way to work one's life.

6 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, that's
7 -- you see, Mr. Carlson's a believer in the oil and gas
8 industry and pipeline construction and so on, and that's
9 a perfectly understandable and no doubt legitimate
10 point of view. He started out as a labourer and look
11 where he is now, he's on this panel.

12 MR. BAYLY: Now there's a
13 success story.

14 A No comment.

15 MR. BAYLY: I'll leave it at
16 that, Mr. Commissioner. Mr. Hollands, you wanted to
17 get in on this before we left it.
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Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 WITNESS HOLLANDS: I don't
2 think I should at this point.

3 Q Where did you start?

4 A Seriously, well I started
5 in a laboratory, in a refinery, and that makes me an
6 expert in pipelining.

7 Seriously, I think that it is
8 true that if someone starts in a mechanical trade, they
9 are likely to go up that avenue; and if they started
10 in the operations or technician side, as we've described
11 it, in the pipeline they are likely to go up that side;
12 if they show lots of potential, there's a convergence
13 at the top to management jobs. It's about that simple.

14 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, I think
15 that's about the size of it.

16 MR. BAYLY: Q Now, can you give
17 us an idea of which of the areas that you know of that
18 Nortran trainees are training for in the operations
19 and maintenance? You've listed a number that will be
20 available in the various regions of the Mackenzie. Where
21 are these people being pointed?

22 A Where are the Nortran
23 trainees?

24 Q Yes.

25 A We must keep in mind first
26 of all that Nortran is training for the producers as
27 well as pipeline.

28 Q Yes.

29 A And they're training for
30 exploration, seismic jobs, as well as gas plants. The

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 exploration --

2 THE COMMISSIONER: As well as
3 pipeline maintenance.

4 A Yes. The exploration-
5 production job, they're large taking place in the delta.
6 The gas plants and the pipeline jobs, the training is
7 taking place, of course, where there are gas plants and
8 pipelines, and that's in Alberta and Saskatchewan.
9 They're being trained in both the disciplines that we
10 talked about, both as technicians and as maintenance
11 people, and we have a number of people, a much smaller
12 number, who are in clerical training programs.

13 MR. BAYLY: Q So they're train-
14 ing in those three areas that you've outlined.

15 A Yes, to various levels,
16 depending on how long they've been in training. There
17 are some who have graduated as technicians and gone on
18 to schools of technology. Few in number, but success-
19 fully.

20 Q All right, and they'd be
21 the ones that could at this point even, step into a
22 technician's job if one were available in a --

23 A Yes.

24 Q -- in an operations and
25 maintenance setting in this pipeline.

26 A Yes.

27 Q And you would anticipate
28 that there will be more by the time you get to that
29 stage.

30 A Yes sir.

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Q But the Nortran program
2 doesn't seem to be adding categories, at least at
3 present, to fill any of the other areas -- the pilots,
4 the flight engineers, -- at this sort of --

5 A Other areas, Mr. Bayly?

6 Q Yes. There are several
7 other areas, the ones involving surveillance, I would
8 take it, from airplanes. That is/part of the Nortran
9 program, and isn't anticipated to be.

10 Now, Mr. Hollands, going to
11 your direct evidence, you state on page 3 of your first
12 presentation,

13 "The obligations of Arctic Gas with contractors
14 and unions should be the same insofar as employ-
15 ment and training of northern residents are
16 concerned."

17 I take it at this point the discussions that you've had
18 with both contractors and unions are of a preliminary
19 nature and you don't know whether they are united with
20 you in this program. You just hope they are, and you
21 have the indications from your early discussions that
22 they may be.

23 A I think the latter part
24 of your statement is the way I've expressed it, that
25 they have indicated that they are.

26 Q All right, that's with the
27 broad general principles. I gather you haven't got down
28 to the details.

29 A No.

30 Q In your opinion, do the

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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 contractors and unions, through the discussions you've
2 had, recognize a special obligation to native people
3 of the north, as Arctic Gas appears to?

4 A I have reason to believe
5 that, yes.

6 Q And is that from your
7 discussions?

8 A From discussions.

9 Q With both contractors
10 and the unions?

11 A Yes.

12 Q Would you be inclined
13 as a company to give a preference to a contractor who
14 shared your philosophy more closely than to one who
15 didn't, in awarding contracts?

16 A Since that's part of
17 our philosophy, I'd say "Yes".

18 Q Now, can you define for
19 our purposes the special obligation you feel that
20 Arctic Gas has to native northern residents?

21 A I think part of it,
22 Mr. Bayly, is defined by the expanded guidelines which
23 if one is practical, and we chose not to state such a
24 position, I think we can anticipate in accordance with
25 those guidelines that we'd be required.

26 Secondly, we're establishing
27 an enterprise, if you will, that's of a highly technical
28 nature. We've discussed it here a little bit today,
29 and it does require experience and fairly sophisticated
30 training. As elsewhere, the objective is to man these

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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 operations with people who live there. It's good economics
2 to have people that are local residents your employees,
3 it reduces your turnover and a number of other things.
4 In the south, this takes a decade or two, it seems to
5 me, for to make that transition from startup to totally
6 locally operated pipeline.

7 Q You say "a decade or
8 two," Mr. Hollands.

9 A By the time -- well, maybe
10 Mr. Carlson could explain it better than I could, but
11 take, for example, in the TransCanada Pipeline situation
12 when they first built it I think Mr. Carlson referred
13 this morning to his being a Canadian who was trained by
14 Americans. In the normal startup operation, you bring
15 people in who have in a sense your key trades, your
16 management people, and I know personally in the involve-
17 ment of the startup of a couple of refineries, one was
18 in Winnipeg (Imperial Oil), in which the startup people
19 were brought from other locations and within, I'd say,
20 15 years, 90% of the jobs were filled by people who
21 were Winnipeg residents. The startup people left,
22 some of them retired, and it takes time, i t takes time
23 for the people who have never been involved in this
24 discipline to learn the requirements particularly, the
25 further you go up in the system.

26 Q In my recollection --
27 sorry if I might interrupt you just at this point --
28 is that the projected lifetime of this pipeline is
29 somewhere between 25-30 years. Does that mean that
30 you'll have people acclimatized, that they'll be

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 fully acclimatized in five to ten years, and then be
2 involved in shutting it down?

3 A No, that's not my --
4 I wasn't and I don't think I should be addressing myself
5 to the length of that pipeline's life. In terms of
6 learning a discipline, there is no way that I know of
7 that you can do this in a revolutionary fashion. You
8 can't just will that tomorrow you'll have all these
9 jobs filled by people. In this case with local residents,
10 it takes time to learn to be a foreman and I don't
11 think that the situation in the Territories is any
12 different to the TransCanada Pipeline, which while it
13 may have had a life projection at the time it was
14 built, is expanding today, and I guess we have to be
15 optimists.

16 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, you're
17 being, I think, very straightforward ^{with us} when you say that
18 the TransCanada line was not fully manned by Canadians
19 for something like 15 years.

20 A Mr. Carlson has direct
21 experience. I think he could answer it better than
22 I could, sir.

23 WITNESS CARLSON: 15 years
24 would be a good number. Actually I think the majority
25 of the U.S. citizens left in the period 10 to 15 years.

26 THE COMMISSIONER:
27 So there can be no doubt,
28 surely no one had any illusions about this from the
29 beginning, that this pipeline, if it is built, would
30 have to be manned by trained people brought from Southern
Canada in the main, and these gentlemen are saying that

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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 if you take into account the length of time it took
2 to achieve a pipeline in Southern Canada fully manned
3 by Canadians, you will get some idea of how long it
4 would take to achieve a pipeline in the Mackenzie
5 Valley fully manned by northern residents in the proper
6 sense of that term, that is people who are here not for
7 a job but to make a home here, whether by in-migration
8 or by birth. We have been -- we have already been told
9 what the projected life of the pipeline is, so I don't
10 see the point, Mr. Bayly, in your fencing with these
11 gentlemen about the matter. You've made your point.
12 Mr. Hollands says, well, they thought the TransCanada
13 would only last 20 years but now it's expanding, it's
14 been looped three times as I understand it.

15 MR. BAYLY: I'm satisfied with
16 that, Mr. Commissioner. I wasn't going to pursue it
17 any farther.

18 Q You state, Mr. Hollands,
19 on page 4 of your evidence that you have assurances
20 -- I'll put that one again. Can you tell me sort of
21 in feeling around this area of discussions you've had
22 with your potential contractors and the unions, and
23 you say you've had some meetings with these groups.
24 Have they been merely exploratory meetings or have
25 they got down to the issues that we've been discussing
26 in some detail, or is it a question of casual conver-
27 sation?

28 WITNESS HOLLANDS: I think they've
29 been casual in the sense that we were not in an approp-
30 riate period to begin commencement of any negotiations

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 with either contractors who might contract with Arctic
2 Gas or certain of the unions involved in the building
3 of the pipeline. We were in a position, however, to be
4 pretty specific about what Arctic Gas' intentions as
5 an operating company would be. We did not look for
6 reciprocal commitments.

Trinity, Hollands
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Q So you haven't received
2 from either the unions or the contractors such things
3 as letters of intent concerning the northern policy that
4 you would like to have them follow?

5 A No.

6 Q Now --

7 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse
8 me. It seems to me Mr. Bayly, and maybe I should express
9 a view about this so that counsel can proceed on this
10 assumption if it is sound; you see you are putting
11 questions to these representatives of Arctic Gas as
12 if it were up to Arctic Gas to organize the arrangements
13 relating to the conditions of admittance to trade union
14 memberships, the location of hiring halls -- a whole
15 range of matters that are rather more in the hands
16 of the unions than in the hands of the company.

17 You've asked them to deal
18 with questions relating to northern hire which are
19 not by any means entirely within their control. As
20 I understand the way this process of decision making
21 works, the Federal Government has laid down guidelines
22 in the "Expanded Guidelines for Northern Pipelines".
23 Arctic Gas comes forward and they say, "Now here is
24 what we are prepared to do. What we think we can do.
25 Here are the problems".

26 We have to consider whatever
27 other evidence there is and Commission counsel will
28 be bringing forward evidence from the trade unions,
29 and then the Inquiry makes recommendations to the
30 government and in certain instances will no doubt go

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Williams, Carlson
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1 so far as to suggest appropriate modes of enforcement.
2 That is, ways in which the good intentions expressed
3 in the guidelines can be made into a reality.

4 But it seems to me that there
5 is a limit to the things that we can ask Arctic Gas to
6 do and to the certain point, what are you are getting
7 from these witnesses quite clearly is expressions of
8 good intentions. Yes, we go along with that. With
9 all these things. But it is in a sense beyond their
10 reach when you get to a certain stage, and perhaps is
11 well beyond the range of their competence.

12 MR. BAYLY: Well Mr. Commissioner,
13 if that's the case and I will be getting to that in
14 my next question, they have said on page five of the
15 evidence that has been led by Mr. Hollands that they
16 are prepared to discuss these matters with the native
17 organizations. If they are prepared only to discuss
18 their good intentions, I want to know that because
19 quite frankly the native organizations may not just
20 want to discuss good intentions. They may want to
21 know whether they are discussing people who can give
22 them promises that they can keep or whether they can
23 discuss it with people who are merely telling them what
24 they'd like to see done.

25 THE COMMISSIONER: All right.
26 Well that's fine. You can go into that and then you
27 have your clients to serve. I acknowledge that, but
28 from my point of view, it doesn't do me all that good
29 for Arctic Gas to agree, "Yes, we'll sit down with the
30 native organizations and discuss these things". No

Trusty, Hollands
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 doubt they are prepared to do so and will do so. But
2 I am concerned about what they as a corporate entity
3 are prepared to do and what they think is reasonable
4 and so on. I'm interested in what they are prepared
5 not to do, because it may well be that we want to know
6 their reasons for not being willing to do certain things
7 because you may, on behalf of your clients, say, "they've
8 got to do that." We want to see what the reasons
9 are on both sides. We want to hear from the unions
10 as well, and then I have to make recommendations.

11 I am all in favor of all these
12 neighborly discussions taking place among all the
13 participants on all of these subjects. But some of these
14 things are going to have to be resolved right here, at
15 least the engagement of ideas, proposals, is going to
16 have to occur in this hearing room.

17 MR. BAYLY: Well Mr. Commission-
18 er, I quite --

19 THE COMMISSIONER: I don't
20 know whether I am making my position clear but I
21 am looking for assistance out of all of this and the
22 fact that these gentlemen say their company is prepared
23 to go and talk to your clients is fine, and good luck to
24 all of you. But, I have to figure out specific
25 recommendations on these questions of native employment,
26 native prospects in the long-term and so on, and include
27 them in a report.

28 MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner,
29 I can see that and I am still though faced with the
30 fact that we must find out from Arctic Gas what they are

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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 prepared to do and what they have done with regard
2 to discussions that they must hold with their contractors
3 and the unions to find out whether all the parties
4 can live with the things they are suggesting.

5 THE COMMISSIONER: Oh yes,

6 I --

7 MR. BAYLY: For example, with
8 their contractors, that is quite a different story
9 from the unions because after all Arctic Gas I would
10 assume has some clout in dictating certain terms of the
11 contract. It may be that the contractors will say, "I
12 am sorry. We don't want to work under those conditions.
13 We're not even going to bid on it."

14 THE COMMISSIONER: All right.

15 MR. BAYLY: If that's the
16 case, then maybe what they're suggesting is unworkable
17 and maybe they have already explored that. If they
18 haven't, we are in the realm of something that we don't
19 know anything about yet.

20 THE COMMISSIONER: All right,
21 now you have put that very succinctly and I think it
22 might be helpful to have these gentlemen comment on
23 it.

24 My impression so far is that
25 their discussions with the unions have not been in-
26 tensive. Let me put it that way. I think we have
27 exhausted their knowledge of the union attitudes already.

28 Gentlemen, you can comment
29 on what I am about to say but it does not appear to
30 me that your discussions with the pipeline contractors

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Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 have been intensive either but you can correct me if
2 I am wrong.

3
4 A No, that's correct.

5 THE COMMISSIONER: The other
6 thing is we are told that there -- Mr. Williams told
7 us some months ago that the pipeline contracting industry
8 in this country is the equivalent of about seven spreads
9 on the Arctic Gas pipeline. Work has been in short
10 supply for that industry until the Montreal - Sarnia
11 line was built this winter. That line is now virtually
12 complete. I think that there is every reason to believe
13 these contractors will be bidding on the work in
14 connection with this pipeline.

15 I would think that the
16 contractors have no views, no well thought out views,
17 on these questions of native hire and so on and so forth
18 because they have not had to face them in certainly
19 not in the same form that were presented -- that they
20 present in the Mackenzie Valley.

21 Well, Mr. Hollands has just
22 confirmed my impression that they haven't really gone
23 into these matters in any detail with either the
24 unions or the contractors.

25 MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner,
26 we have your instruction to Commission counsel with
27 regard to the unions but as yet --

28 THE COMMISSIONER: That's
29 an instruction of long standing, at least one year or
30 more.

MR. BAYLY: Yes, I realize that.

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Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Yes. What I am concerned about --

2 THE COMMISSIONER: And I am
3 sure they are working on it.

4 MR. BAYLY: We may never hear
5 though from the pipeline contractors as to whether or
6 not they could build something like this with this kind
7 of an employment policy.

8 THE COMMISSIONER: Well I think
9 that you might speak to Mr. Goudge and Mr. Haynes of
10 his staff after the hearing today because my understanding
11 is that Commission staff have been interviewing the
12 unions and the contractors. It might be worthwhile
13 for them to bring you up to date on the state of those
14 interviews, because that whole program was undertaken
15 at my direction because I felt that we had to know
16 what all of these people thought.

17 MR. BAYLY: Well I'll be happy
18 sir to defer it to those representatives of the unions
19 and the contractors but in the absence of that, I felt
20 I must explore it with these witnesses because they are
21 all we've had so far and they have been in on at least
22 preliminary discussions with these two groups.

23 THE COMMISSIONER: They are
24 all we've got. You're quite right.

25 MR. BAYLY: That's right and
26 perhaps Mr. Goudge can respond and let us know whether
27 he is going to be calling evidence from the contractors
28 and the unions.

29 MR. GOUDGE: Well I think the
30 simplest thing for me to do at this stage sir is to speak

Trusty, Hollands
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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 with Mr. Bayly at the end of the day and go over with
2 him the state of our plans and if he wants to raise it
3 again in the morning, he is free to do so.

4 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes. You
5 might go over that with Mr. Goudge and Mr. Bell might
6 also because you might have some suggestions to
7 Commission counsel regarding any further interviews
8 they might carry out. But at the end of the day, this
9 Inquiry has to lay down the conditions that Arctic
10 Gas, the unions and the contractors would have to
11 subscribe to, assuming the government thought it was
12 accepting the recommendations I made, we reach a point
13 where we have exhausted the knowledge of these people
14 and we say, "Well now, this is the way we think it
15 has to be done".

16 O.K.
17
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Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 MR. BAYLY: I'm just trying
2 to prune these questions out, Mr. Commissioner, and
3 will leave them until tomorrow depending on what Mr.
4 Goudge has to say to me in a few minutes.

5 Now, let me go to this
6 question, Mr. Hollands, I'm only referring to your
7 company's policy, not the policy that you may or may
8 not know of, of unions and contractors. What are your
9 policies regarding access to the land on off hours or
10 weekends, as it presently stands, for pipeline workers?

11 WITNESS HOLLANDS: I'll defer
12 that to Mr. Trusty.

13 WITNESS TRUSTY: Mr. Bayly,
14 the next panel will go into this in detail. All such
15 policies.

16 Q All right, now does that
17 include the following questions, posession of fire arms,
18 fishing rods and alcohol?

19 A Yes sir.

20 Q Does it include baggage
21 inspections?

22 A It hasn't in direct testimony
23 but you're welcome to ask the questions.

24 Q I will. Does it include
25 access by local people to the Arctic Gas camps?

26 A It does.

27 Q Does it include access
28 by workers to the individual settlements?

29 A It does.

Q Does it include --

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Cross- Exam by Bayly

1 THE COMMISSIONER: You're
2 on the panel aren't you, Mr. Trusty?

3 A Yes sir.

4 MR. STEEVES: I've given the
5 evidence to Dr. Usher.

6 MR. BAYLY: I'm a bit
7 behind, Mr. Commissioner, but I'm trying to catch up.

8 Now, you describe on page 9 of
9 your evidence the co-ordinating council, starting on
10 page 8, which would direct the overall manpower delivery
11 system and you state at the bottom of this page that
12 this system would eliminate the use of hiring halls in
13 the north. Would you explain this organization a little
14 more fully as Arctic Gas envisages it?

15 WITNESS HOLLANDS: Appreciating
16 that that's exactly what it is, Mr. Bayly, it's our
17 view that what it might be, and one which we would be
18 putting forward to the -- to government.

19 In some respects it isn't unlike
20 the Steering Committee of the Nortran Training Programme.
21 The Steering Committee is an overall body which consists
22 of management people of each of the participant companies
23 and the Nortran Programme takes its direction on policy
24 matters and budgetary matters to that committee for
25 approval and conceptually, what we were thinking about
26 is that we're dealing with -- we in the total concept
27 of any one operating in a delivery system, at least
28 three governments, our clients in the gas transmission
29 industry, if we're looking at the gas plant implications
30 for the producers and at least three producers who are

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1 presently in that programme, and the execution contractors
2 who have been employing these individuals as well as

3 -- I think 15 buildingtrade unions and the pipeline
4 craft group, which are two additional, and when you
5 look at the size of a settlement such as Franklin and
6 if everyone had had a direct interest in the employment
7 of someone from that settlement was to go there, to
8 satisfy their particular needs, you'd have more people
9 in the settlement than there are residents and that
10 doesn't seem very practical.

11 We were thinking that if we
12 could, through this co-ordinating council, give respons-
13 ibility to each of the factors, of government, the con-
14 tractor client in some way and the unions and we could
15 operate with a much smaller group and we could see those
16 people covering particularly the smaller settlements
17 and doing such things as signing them up in the union
18 membership, making arrangements with respective payroll
19 deduction for dues and that type of thing, and then take
20 them from their settlements to the job sites. Now,
21 whether that's practical, we have yet to work that out.

22 Q But you are trying to
23 create a system that makes it as easy as possible for
24 the resident of a smaller community to participate in
25 working on this project?

26 A Yes sir.

27 Q And as such, I gather that's
28 one of the reasons you'd like to involve native peoples
29 and their organizations in this delivery system if possible?

30 A Yes sir.

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1
2 Q Now, would you envisage the
3 native organizations having some part in the creation of
4 this system as well as the operation of this?

5 A Yes sir.

6 Q You haven't approached
7 them yet. I take it if it did become more of a reality
8 you would approach them?

9 A Let me say, yes, sir.
10 Yes sir.

11 Q Okay.

12 A There's been a reluctance
13 on the part of native organization leadership to discuss
14 these matters with us, that's the problem, or we probably
15 would have now.

16 Q Yes, okay, and you would
17 anticipate -- you wouldn't firm up those things unless
18 you got a permit anyway?

19 A I beg your pardon?

20 Q You wouldn't firm up those
21 kinds of organizations unless you got a permit anyway?

22 A It's possible that regard-
23 less of the pipeline, particularly the two government
24 agencies, DIAND and the Northwest Territories would find
25 this a very worthwhile thing to do in any event.

26 Q Would you envisage the
27 native peoples, through some organization, becoming a
28 bargaining power in management union relations as a
29 possible off-shoot of this delivery system?

30 A Well, what I'm talking about
in the sense of a delivery system is not a negotiable

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Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 matter. I don't think it's a matter for negotiations,
2 so I'm not confident to comment.

3 Q You don't see it having
4 a negotiating role?

5 A No, I do not.

6 THE COMMISSIONER: In British
7 Columbia the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia,
8 which is a native organization, represents the native
9 fishermen in negotiations between the fishermen on the
10 one side and the fishing companies on the other side.

11 The fisherman's union, in the
12 same negotiations represents the white fishermen, the
13 Native Brotherhood represents the native fishermen and
14 they work together, they collaborate most of the time.

15 MR. BAYLY: This is the kind
16 of system I was wondering whether this was regarding --

17 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, I
18 only mention it because it's a matter that your clients
19 may want to think about, and Mr. Bell's clients.

20 MR. BAYLY: Yes, and I gather
21 it's something though, that Mr. Hollands and his organiza-
22 tion haven't addressed themselves to at this point.

23 A No.

24 Q Or am I wrong on that?

25 A There was one -- you
26 invited me to comment on this structure, there was one
27 remaining piece in this that I think is important
28 from the thrust of your question and that is that for
29 a number of purposes, including the determination of
30 desires of local resident people for employment, that

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Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 we would see some kind of liaison officer who would be
2 a local resident and whether you could warrant that in
3 each community, or whether someone in one local community
4 would be choosen and employed as a liaison officer to
5 these people that come to recruit so that whenever
6 you get a problem, or turnover, there's somebody in the
7 community that's fully aware of the situation, who belongs
8 to that community.

9 So, whether there's one in each
10 community or not -- in fact, in the smaller communities,
11 I doubt if that would be practical, it would be more
12 likely you would have one for three communities that
13 were regionally adjacent.

14 Q Now, the Commissioner has
15 raised something that is outside this particular structure
16 that you envisage, but I'd like you to comment on it, and
17 that is the possibility that because unions with member-
18 ships from the south may find they are in a conflict of
19 interest position, that native peoples, who might be
20 getting preferential treatment from you might possibly
21 be represented by a group other than the union in neg-
22 otiations with the company. Have you given any thought
23 to that at Arctic Gas?

24 A No.

25 Q Mr. Trusty, have you?

26 WITNESS TRUSTY: No.

27 Q You're aware of this, of
28 the situation in the fishing industry in British Columbia
29 where that has arisen?

30 WITNESS HOLLANDS: I wasn't

Trusty, Hollands,
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 until a few minutes ago.

2 Q Now, I notice on page
3 9 again, you talk about personal and family counselling
4 for northern employees. Is this something that you'll
5 be providing to southern employees as well?

6 A No, not in the same degree.

7 Q I see. The reason I
8 ask is that it may be that some of the northern problems
9 may be caused by southerners who need personal and
10 family counselling.

11 A The intention with respect
12 to personal family counselling, we seem to keep referr-
13 ing back to Nortran but that is an experience we've
14 had with that and it seems to be working very well
15 with Nortran trainees who are predominantly northerners.
16 I think as far as the southerners, I tried to indicate
17 in the testimony that there are things we'd like them
18 to know about the north, but in the sense of whether
19 they want to keep their family in Toronto, Ontario or
20 Kelowna, B.C., and their whole matter of banking and
21 things like are not -- we think that's beyond our
22 camp.

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Q But with regard to the
2 different treatments you will be giving to the various
3 workers, it appears that you will be trying to accommodate
4 the northern lifestyle as much as possible so that
5 people can return to their communities so that the
6 work schedules suit their way of life, and yet with the
7 southern people you may be treating them in a way that
8 is equally unusual in comparison to the way they live
9 in Edmonton, Toronto, Windsor, or wherever they come
10 from, and they may require as much or more counselling
11 and assistance to live in this fashion than the
12 northerners. Mr. Williams doesn't agree.

13 A I'm not qualified.

14 WITNESS TRUSTY: I think
15 that the comment, Mr. Bayly, is that the vast majority
16 -- Mr. Williams can comment on this -- the vast majority
17 of these people from the south are used to this kind
18 of a procedure. It's not that unusual for people
19 who work for a pipeline construction company, for
20 example, to be working remote from a community.

21 WITNESS WILLIAMS: That was
22 my comment.

23 Q Right, and that's the reason
24 you want to keep them out of the northern communities.

25 WITNESS TRUSTY: No. Mr.
26 Bayly, you were asking about why they wouldn't be
27 provided with family and personal counselling, and we're
28 telling you that the reason, in our view, is that it's
29 not the same for them because they're used to this whole
30 process of working out of camps and working in areas

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 remote from their home community, or indeed any
2 community.

3 Q Well, my experience in
4 that kind of work is limited, but the few years that
5 I did do work in construction camps and bush camps,
6 we weren't treated as being quite so cloistered from
7 the rest of the community as Arctic Gas anticipates
8 that the pipeline workers would be.

9 THE COMMISSIONER: I think
10 this witness should be sworn.

11 Q I'm just wondering, and
12 perhaps Mr. Williams is the best person to answer
13 this, whether this segregation from the local community
14 is stricter than in construction projects in Southern
15 Canada, in his experience?

16 WITNESS WILLIAMS: Well,
17 certainly.

18 Q And in Southern Canada you
19 don't keep the workers out of the local communities to
20 the same extent, I suggest to you.

21 A That's correct.

22 Q It may be also that
23 they come from closer to the jobsite and can get
24 home more easily on individual weekends, for example.
25 With a few exceptions.

26 A We hope to work all
27 weekend, Mr. Bayly.

28 THE COMMISSIONER: And over
29 Christmas.

30 A Right.

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1 MR. BAYLY: Humbug.

2 Mr. Commissioner, I have
3 between half an hour and an hour remaining, and it is
4 now five o'clock. Do you wish me to continue now, or
5 tomorrow morning?

6 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, all I
7 ask that you people do is remember two things in
8 determining whether we sit any later or sit this
9 evening. One is that we have faithfully promised
10 Mr. Williams that he will get that plane at five
11 o'clock tomorrow, so he can participate in the Bicenten-
12 nial Celebrations. The second thing I want you all to
13 keep in mind is that we want to get through these Arctic
14 Gas panels this week, and we only have four days this
15 week. Mr. Goudge says we'll get through these panels,
16 but I want you all to remember that you, Mr. Bayly,
17 intend to cross-examine Dr. Hobart when he appears
18 on the next panel in connection with his evidence given
19 last week. So I ask all of you to bear those matters
20 if
21 in mind, and that means that we should carry on for
22 a while now or this evening, sobeit.

23 Do you want to speak to Mr.
24 Goudge for a moment?

25 MR. BAYLY: I'd like to speak
26 to Mr. Goudge for five minutes, sir, and that may tell
27 me how much questioning I have to do of this panel.
28 still to examine the limits of their knowledge on that.

29 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, let's
30 adjourn for five minutes now.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR FIVE MINUTES)

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Cross-Exam by Mrs. MacQuarrie

1 (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

2 MR. GOUDGE: Sir, if we could
3 prevail for another 15 or 20 minutes, I have spoken
4 to counsel, and Mr. Bayly I think would like to reserve
5 his right to ask a few more questions should it prove
6 necessary after the discussion that I propose to have
7 with counsel at the end of the day.

8 In the meantime, Mrs. MacQuarrie
9 would like to ask a few questions of this panel and
10 I think that would take 15 or 20 minutes and perhaps
11 conclude the day sir.

12 THE COMMISSIONER: O.K.

13 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MRS. MACQUARRIE:

14 Q Now, is that better?

15
16
17 THE COMMISSIONER: Go ahead
18 Mrs. MacQuarrie. Don't mind us.

19 MRS. MACQUARRIE: Mr. Hollands,
20 in the pages of your evidence, page two through eight,
21 you mention your dealings or meetings with various
22 unions. Are you familiar with the Co-operative Pipeline
23 Agreement for Canada?

24 WITNESS HOLLANDS: I beg your
25 pardon Mrs. MacQuarrie?

26 Q Are you familiar with
27 the Co-operative Pipeline Agreement for Canada?

28 A Not in detail. No, I'm not.

29 Q I understand that this
30 was an agreement signed by the contractors, the unions

Trusty, Hollands,
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1 and a number of pipeline companies for construction,
2 the work that is going to be taking place in the
3 Mackenzie Valley. I was very concerned because it seems
4 to lock in all of the jobs that are available even in
5 the support services for the pipeline, in that everyone
6 working even remotely in a job connected with the
7 building of the pipeline would need to be a union member.

8 If you are remotely familiar
9 with this pipeline agreement could you please comment?

10 A I am not familiar enough
11 with it in all honesty to comment Mrs. MacQuarrie. I
12 would be glad to go over it and do so for the --

13 Q Are any other members of
14 the panel prepared to speak of it?

15 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Perhaps I
16 could assist with this Mr. Commissioner. Our second
17 panel in phase four will be dealing with that contract
18 and we'll have a witness capable of speaking to it.

19 THE COMMISSIONER: O.K.?

20 MRS. MacQUARRIE: Yes, thank
21 you. The other things is as far as the northern people
22 being employed anywhere in the industry, it seems to me
23 that they will likely need to be members of a union.
24 Since many people here are not familiar with what a
25 union is, are you planning to have public education
26 programs for them on their level so that we will be able
27 to understand what being a member of a union is all about?

28 A When we were earlier
29 discusssing with Mr. Bayly the idea of a manpower delivery
30 system, it envisages that in the community, we would have

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1 what we have termed a liaison officer who would be a
2 resident. The first requirement would be that that
3 individual would be knowledgeable of the things you are
4 defining and we would expect such a person to pass that
5 kind of information to the people in the community who
6 have expressed interest in construction employment.

7 Q I see.

8 A In other words, not
9 directly by Arctic Gas in the sense of public meetings,
10 but through such an individual.

11 Q I see. Thank you.

12 You mentioned that you will be employing counsellors.
13 Could you tell me very briefly some of the qualifications
14 a person would require to become a counsellor?

15 A In our view, the counsellors
16 ^{we} that have in the present Nortran program are admirably
17 suited to this kind of work. The principle requirement
18 that we feel such people need is that they have had
19 work experience, and by that I mean not months but a matter
20 of at least three or four years work experience, in an
21 industrial setting or wage setting, if you will. And
22 that they are familiar with not only the "good things"
23 that might derived from wage employment, but some of the
24 bad things that northern people might be faced with.

25 We envisage the same kind
26 of a person. Someone who is there who can tell northern
27 people who are employed both in construction and ultimately
28 in operations, the things that they might expect, and
29 help them with problems that they may have, whether they
30 be social or personal or work related.

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Williams, Carlson
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1 Q Well then I take it
2 that these counsellors would have some training in
3 psychology -- cross-cultural psychology or social
4 work or this kind of thing?

5 A I nodded my head "no"
6 By that I meant I don't think that is necessary. The
7 counsellors that we have at the present time, I think
8 one of them who is on a panel here, I believe he
9 had high schooling and approximately four years working
10 in pipeline operation in Alberta.

11 THE COMMISSIONER: He gave
12 evidence earlier on when Arctic Gas and Foothills pre-
13 sented a panel of people from Nortran and he -- I
14 remember him vividly. I don't remember his name but he
15 was --

16 A Rick Behn .

17 THE COMMISSIONER: -- dressed
18 in a way that was quite unforgettable.

19 A And he is a very effective
20 counsellor.

21 Q Oh, I am sure he is.

22 A Yes, he is a very
23 effective counsellor.

24 MRS. MacQUARRIE: What kind
25 of professional psychiatric or psychological back-up
26 resources are there for these counsellors within your
27 company?

28 A None.

29 Q Do you not have industrial
30 psychologists or sociologists available?

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Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Mrs. MacQuarrie

1 A Pardon?

2 Q Do you not have industrial
3 psychologists or sociologists available?

4 A No.

5 THE COMMISSIONER: Dr. Hobart
6 is doing a -- conducting an examination and evaluation
7 of the Nortran Program, though, isn't he?

8 A Oh, yes. I am sorry.
9 I thought the question was directly working as an
10 Arctic Gas employee. I thought this was the --

11 Q This is actually what
12 I meant, because it seems to me that if you have employment
13 counsellors that are dealing with the people and their
14 problems of living, that these counsellors will certainly
15 need some kind of professional back-up in order for
16 they themselves not to develop mental disorders.

17 A Some of us would share that
18 opinion.

19 Q Is there any plan in
20 the future to have this kind of a psychiatric team
21 available as a professional back-up to your counsellors?

22 A No, I think if we were in
23 -- if I understand the kind of a situation you are
24 envisaging whether it's with an individual or a family
25 or some such thing, that as with most industry, we
26 -- it's a service one can't afford, I don't believe,
27 to have on your payroll, but you would avail yourselves
28 of that service where it is professionally available.
29 To that degree, I'd say that whether a counsellor or
30 a member of management discerned the kind of a problem

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Cross-Exam by Mrs. MacQuarrie

1 we're talking about, then just as we do in any work
2 location that I have been associated with, we would
3 through medical facilities get that service.

4 Q Yes, but --

5 A And assist them in that
6 way.

7 Q Yes, I understand that
8 you would likely plug in to the local infrastructure
9 but perhaps are you aware that none of this exists
10 currently in the north and that these workers would
11 have to be shipped outside?

12 A Yes, and to my knowledge
13 the service in house and in industry generally in the
14 south is not available.

15 Q I guess we are going to
16 have lots of people problems.

17 THE COMMISSIONER: Well it isn't
18 available in the south except in the big cities.

19 A By "in house" I mean that
20 the company employees, this type of service on our own
21 payroll.

22 Q No, I know you don't and
23 don't intend to, do you?

24 A No.

25 Q But -- and I don't know
26 where you can find the people if you did intend to.

27 A That's another good point.

28 Q But even in southern
29 Canada, you don't find these kind of people except in
30 the big cities.

Trusty, Hollands
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Mrs. MacQuarrie

1 A Yes.

2 Q They don't want to live
3 in remote communities.

4 A That's right.

5 Q But they don't.

6 A It's essentially true for
7 all medical and dental and almost anything you can
8 name. You go to a small community in any province, and
9 it's hard to find.

10 MRS. MACQUARRIE: And you don't
11 have any plans afoot to lure them?

12 A To lure them?

13 Q Yes.

14 A No.

15 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, the
16 B.C. Government sought to impose a condition on doctors
17 in-migrating to B.C. that they had to go to remote
18 communities for three years. The B.C. Human Rights
19 Commission struck it down as unconstitutional which
20 no doubt it was.

21 MRS. MACQUARRIE: So, essentially
22 then the counsellors, in dealing with the workers are
23 very, very limited to the extent of the counselling
24 services they are able to provide. They have had no
25 training. They have no professional back-up and no
26 place to send them to.

27 A In that sense, the answer
28 is yes.

29 Q In your training program,
30 have you been able to pass over the language barriers

Trusty, Hollands
Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by Mrs. MacQuarrie

1 that exist when you are bringing in a number of workers
2 from different countries or certainly communities. Have
3 you made provision for hiring interpreters for instance?
4

5 A We have -- "we", this
6 Nortran Training Program -- the existing one -- has
7 I think trainees from some -- I've forgotten the number
8 of communities but I believe it's in excess of 20, and
9 all of the trainees speak English and there is no
10 language problem.
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Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 Q It is quite likely, though,
2 that there are a number of people in the communities
3 who are of a working age, for instance 25 to 50, who
4 aren't able to speak English. Will you have interpre-
5 ters participating in your orientation programs for
6 these workers? Or will they not be allowed to work
7 because they don't speak English?

8 A I haven't been faced with
9 the
/problem. Maybe Mr. Trusty would like to comment on our
10 general--

11 WITNESS TRUSTY: When Dr.
12 Hobart comes back in Phase 4, or Panel 4, he will be
13 noting that one of the recommendations he has made
14 to us or to Arctic Gas is that there should be some
15 provision for native peoples working on a spread,
16 for example, to be able to relate through someone who
17 speaks their language, a native person who also speaks
18 English and has been through the work -- that kind of
19 work experience before, in a sense a straw boss, and
20 that's certainly a recommendation that we're taking
21 under consideration and would hope to implement to the
22 extent we possibly can.

23 Q I see.

24 WITNESS HOLLANDS: I think I
25 from a very practical point of view,
should add one thing, I was addressing myself more to
26 the operating phase and I just think that that probably
27 wouldn't be practical. Just the nature of the business,
28 I think, would have to be accommodated.

29 THE COMMISSIONER: You'd all
30 have to speak English.

Trusty, Hollands, Williams, Carlson
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 A Yes.

2 MRS. MacQUARRIE: One of the
3 major mental health problems, that I understand in a
4 camp at McMurray, was the fact that no one in the
5 kitchen could speak English. They were a mixture of
6 people from Portugal, Czechoslovakia, Germany, foreign
7 workers hired temporarily to work in that industry and
8 the major bone of contention for the soup, perhaps,
9 was that no one -- the cook could not get his message
10 across to tell him which ones were potatoes.

11 A Yes.

12 Q So I suggest that^{if}/you
13 do not hire interpreters, that it's going to be very
14 anxiety for both --

15 A I think Mr. Trusty
16 indicated, and I hadn't very frankly read that testimony
17 of Dr. Hobart's, but I think he said that he feels in
18 that situation, in the camp situation it may well be --
19 well, I guess he says it's a desirable thing to do.

20 Q And do you intend to
21 do so, though?

22 A Pardon?

23 Q Is the intent to do so?

24 A I can't answer that.

25 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, they
26 say that they will consider that recommendation of Dr.
27 Hobart's. Dr. Hobart is undoubtedly thinking of people
28 who speak only native languages.

29 A Yes.

30 Q And not of people from

Trusty, Williams, Hollands, Carlson
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 Portugal.

2 A That's right.

3 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes.

4 MRS. MacQUARRIE: Q Is there --
5 Are you
6 planning to maintain perhaps a telephone or a radio
7 phone linked between the camp and the communities that
8 the workers are from so that they can stay in proper
9 communication with their families?

10 WITNESS TRUSTY: We'll be
11 talking to that question in the next panel, Mrs.
12 MacQuarrie, of the facilities that will be available
13 in the camps, including telephone service.

14 MRS. MacQUARRIE: I see. Thank
15 you.

16 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,
17 Mrs. MacQuarrie. Mr. Trusty, in connection with the
18 evidence you gave, would you mind taking a look at the
19 evidence given at the overview hearings in March last
20 year by Dr. Jamieson, an economist? He referred to the
21 likelihood of the industry continuing to explore for
22 oil and gas in the Arctic, or at least in the Mackenzie
23 Valley and the Western Arctic, even if no pipeline
24 were built. Now, I'm sure you've read his evidence.

25 A I recall it vividly, sir.

26 Q I think there is a passage
27 in which he suggested -- you'll remember in part of
28 his evidence he dealt with the question: Well, how
29 much money from a project like this finds its way into
30 the pockets of the native people?

31 A Yes.

Trusty, Williams, Hollands, Carlson

1 Q He suggested very little;
2 but then he went on and I recall at the time wondering
3 about this, and I suppose I should have asked him some-
4 thing about it, but he said, "Well, if no pipeline at
5 all was built, a certain level of investment by the
6 oil and gas industry in exploration activities of one
7 kind or another may well continue. Now I don't see
8 how that -- at the time I didn't quite understand that
9 unless it were on the assumption that a delivery system
10 might be built in 10 or 20 years instead of a program
11 beginning in 1977, as Mr. Williams indicated to us.

12 Do you -- if you have that
13 evidence in your library in the hotel, would you take
14 a glance at it this evening and if you run into a
15 passage that resembles the one I've described, perhaps
16 comment on it in the morning?

17 A I could comment on it now,
18 if you want, sir.

19 Q All right.

20 A I've had long conversations
21 with the producers on this question and with other
22 people familiar with the whole process of exploration,
23 and my understanding is that in some regions, for
24 example in the upper and central Mackenzie you get a
25 certain amount of exploration that goes on irrespective
26 because some one has an idea that they know where they're
27 going to find something and it's much more of a prospect-
28 ing kind or wildcat -- small companies going in, putting
29 in a hole, because they have an idea that they hope will
30 pan out. That seems to be almost a cyclical kind of

Trusty, Williams, Hollands, Carlson

1 thing that goes on.

2 Q They take the view, I
3 suppose, that if they find something that's big enough

4 A That's right.

5 Q -- they'll have to build
6 a delivery system.

7 A Sooner or later. Now the
8 producers' view is -- the other problem is the question
9 of drilling for gas or oil is so intermixed that
10 a given pipeline project, you know in this case a gas
11 pipeline, it doesn't necessarily mean that they wouldn't
12 continue to go on looking for oil to some degree and
13 therefore maybe find gas. But in general, the position
14 they have stated to me is that depending on the nature
15 of decision that would be made with respect to a pipe-
16 line, you could expect a mild to severe decline for
17 some period of time in the overall thrust of exploration
18 activity in the north. But it would depend on what
19 precise decision was made, and the time frame around
20 that decision.

21 Q Yes.

22 A Does that --

23 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, yes.

24 If you don't mind, if you do get a minute or two this
25 evening when you're not going over things with Mr.
26 Steeves, if you could just find Dr. Jamieson's evidence
27 and if there is a passage to that effect, and it gives
28 rise to any further thoughts, let me have them in the
29 morning. O.K., we'll adjourn till 10 A.M. then.

30 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO JULY 13, 1976)

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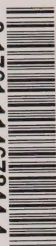
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